

TO THE COLORED VOTERS OF HOUSTON:

2/9/18
Houston
Over Feb. 9

The time has come when the colored voter should know the truth regarding this fight against the Ward Saloons and the hue and cry against bootlegging done in the wards.

There is practically no bootlegging done there—it is done in the heart of the business section, and the whole thing is an effort to concentrate the trade into the hands of the few without care or thought as to the hardship worked upon the many.

Hundreds of men who are your friends would be put out of business if the measure carries—men that have been your friends and who have always proven themselves your friends. Hundreds of small stores who are now selling you coal by the pail and groceries in five and ten-cent purchases, who could not stay in business if it were not for the small profits which they make upon the beer they sell. They will have to go out of business if this measure carries.

During the recent cold spell did any of you come up town and buy a basket of coal from the up-town saloons? Do any of you ever frequent them? If you want a pail of beer after a hard day's work, do you come up town to buy it? You do not. Vote out the ward saloon and every time you want a glass of beer you will have to add car fare to the price of the drink.

Your enemies and the enemies of the laboring classes, colored and white, have tried to make it a patriotic question—humbug—there is not anything patriotic about it. If they were honest and wanted to keep liquor from the soldiers they would close some of the up-town places where they get it—not in the wards.

Why do not the papers publish the facts—why not investigate the police, the constable and sheriff's records and tell the truth about them? Why not tell the people that there are no policeman patrolling the wards? That excepting the mounted men looking for stray cattle a uniformed officer on

duty is not seen in the wards from year's end to year's end. Why don't we have officers in the wards—largely because they are not needed and because they cannot spare men from the business district.

The daily papers seem to take a fiendish delight in calling public attention to the moral delinquencies of Houston, same delinquencies exist only in the distorted imaginations of their writers—they are not telling facts, and they know it—well, "it is a dirty bird that foul's its own nest."

Our soldiers are getting a great deal of attention—if you believed half of what you read about their morals you'd imagine they were the scum of the earth. What are the facts? We have in our city practically 35,000 young, healthy, red-blooded men—how many arrests are made per day—about two on an average—how does that agree with the statements suggested in the daily press? The facts are that Camp Logan is one of the cleanest, soberest and best conducted camps in the whole State, and there are very many in Texas.

They howl about the "breweries." The breweries employ hundreds of men, good clean men—some of our best citizens—the breweries have been in the forefront of every civic improvement, and have ever and always been liberal subscribers to every public charity or enterprise, and now some 2x4 politicians are trying to put them out of business and using you as a cat's paw to pull out their chestnuts from the fire, and even up some petty spites.

Colored Voters, don't be deceived or carried away by your would-be "guides" and leaders. Look behind their motives. Hunt for the bug under the chip and you'll find it.

Study your interest—think of who are your friends—tried and true—the men who are flattering you today, and begging your support in this great moral (?) issue will not recognize you after the 20th and if you should call upon them would have you put out by the police.

Don't forget it is a fight against the

poor man and his small comforts and privileges by those who are far removed from the stress of poverty. There is no effort to shut off the rich man's wine or whiskey, all effort is directed against the poor man's beer. If you stand for it—if you vote for the Ordinance you are false to your class and your best interests. Vote down the infamous act of class legislation, and show that you are free men in deed as in name.

ANTI-COMMITTEE. (Political Advertisement) SOCIALISTS MAKE DEMAND FOR NEGRO

United States National Executive Committee of Party Probably for First Time Has Plank in Congressional Platform

ON MASS. C. S. EDITOR
ST 28, 1918

Special to The Christian Science Monitor from its Western Bureau
CHICAGO, Ill.—It has seemed rather curious to various observers that just at the time the German propagandist was trying to create discontent and disloyalty among the Negroes, the American Socialist Party should discover him and tell him how ill-treated he was. Mention has been made of action taken by the party's national executive committee several months ago, looking toward reaching the Negro. The Socialists now have taken their most decided step toward cultivating the Negro by writing a Negro plank in their Socialist Party congressional platform. On this inclusive platform they will run their candidates for Congress this fall.

At Socialist Party national headquarters it is said informally that this is probably the first time the Socialist Party has devoted a plank to the Negro. Complete, it is as follows:

"The Negroes are the most oppressed portion of the American population, of which they form one-ninth. They are the victims of lawlessness, including hanging and burning; widespread political disfranchisement and loss of civil rights. They are especially discriminated against in economic opportunity.

"We therefore demand:
"1. That the Negroes be accorded full rights of citizenship, political, educational and industrial.

"2. That Congress shall enforce the provisions of the 14th Amendment by reducing the representation in Congress of such states as violate the letter or spirit of the amendment."

The Eye-Opener, official publication

of the Socialist party, devotes several paragraphs in its report on the national Socialist conference to the addresses of two Negro Socialists. Negroes have been rather scarce among Socialist party workers in the past, and this was the first time in several years that Negroes have spoken at such a gathering. The Eye-Opener's report is as follows:

"Chandler Owen and A. Philip Randolph, of New York City, Negro Socialists, appeared before the conference and urged the carrying on of Socialist propaganda among the Negroes.

"Owen pointed out that 99 per cent of the Negroes are workers, who have lost faith in the Republican party. They declared the opportunities for the spread of Socialist propaganda among the Negroes was never better than now. They urged that work be carried on especially in the Northern states.

"They declared that 25 per cent of the Negro vote in the last New York election went to Morris Hillquit, Socialist candidate for mayor, and that of 500 Negro women enrolled, 100 enrolled as Socialists. They now have a Negro candidate for Congress in New York City on the Socialist ticket. They have a strong publication advancing the cause of Socialism among the colored people."

GEORGIA REPUBLICANS PLEDGE WAR SUPPORT

State Committee Passes Resolutions Deploring "Advance of Lynch Law in Our State."

Resolutions pledging unqualified support to the government in its war program, congratulating members of the party in congress for aiding the president in all necessary measures, and deploring the "unfortunate advance of lynch law in our state," were passed at a meeting of the republican state central committee of Georgia, which was held in Atlanta Saturday. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolved, The republican state central committee of Georgia, adopting in every respect the resolutions passed by the republican national committee at its meeting in St. Louis, Mo., February 12, 1918, pledges the republican party of the state of Georgia to the unqualified support of the government in the vigorous prosecution of the war to a victorious end; and unto this end urges the administration to avail itself of the assistance of the ablest men and group of men in the state of Georgia in order that all war work may be efficiently and expeditiously done.

Resolved further, That we endorse the course of republican representatives in congress in supporting what is known as the Susan B. Anthony amendment, providing for the submission to the states of the national suffrage amendment enfranchising women; and we further congratulate the republican representatives in congress for their uniform and non-partisan support

of the president in all war measures that have come before congress.
Resolved further, That we congratulate the republican national committee upon the selection of the Hon. Will H. Hays, of Indiana, as chairman of the republican national committee. His eminent ability and efficiency insures an aggressive and successful prosecution of republican claims to the American electorate and practically insures a united party in the nation, which is tantamount to republican success.

Resolved further, That we rejoice for the return to health of that eminent patriot and republican, Theodore Roosevelt, and congratulate the party and the people that his unmatched abilities are available in this mighty crisis through which the American people are passing.

Resolved further, That we deplore the unfortunate advance of lynch law in our state. We deplore it, we deplore it, we denounce it. We appeal to the conscience of the state to address its best efforts toward its suppression as one of the most efficient aids in winning the war; and we congratulate the state of Georgia for the strong and conscientious stand taken by Governor Hugh M. Dorsey for the suppression of this shame and the salvation of the escutcheon of the fair name of our state.

We congratulate the republicans of the state of Wisconsin and the republicans of the nation in the election to the senate of Hon. Irwin L. Lenroot. His loyal support of the administration of every war measure proposed by it while a member of the lower branch of congress demonstrates that he is a typical republican that has always placed patriotism above politics and partisanship.

Passed by the republican state central committee of Georgia at its meeting held at the Odd Fellows' auditorium, Atlanta, Ga. April 6, 1918.

ROSCOE PICKETT,
Chairman.
J. C. STYLES, Secretary.
NEWARK N. J. LEDGER
OCTOBER 2, 1918

COLORED VOTERS FORM ANTI-EDGE LEAGUE HERE

A non partisan organization colored voters to be known as the Negro Anti-Edge League of New Jersey was organized in this city last night. The members of the new organization met at 12 Lafayette street the headquarters of the Colored Democratic State Committee to voice the disapproval of Governor Edge as candidate for the United States Senate. Many Republicans attended the conference.

Delegates from Union, Monmouth, Hudson, Middlesex and several from Essex attended the meeting, at which temporary officers were elected. George Simmons of Jersey City acted as chairman and H. B. Francisco was selected for temporary president of the League, pending an election at mass meeting. Isaac Walker was chosen temporary treasurer, A. I. Mayo, secretary and C. M. Brown chairman of the executive committee to which will be entrusted the plan of effecting a thorough organization throughout New Jersey.

The object of the league is to manifest the general resentment of the colored voters toward legislation adopted at Trenton with the sanction of Governor Edge. Their principal grievance is the altering of the civil rights bill by an amendment which makes it necessary for negroes who have been insulted because of their race to seek damages through the overseer of the poor, with the amount collected being paid to the municipality.

FRAUDS REVEALED IN HEAVY NEGRO REGISTRATION HERE

Blacks Registered From Vacant Houses

—One Ward, With 686 Negro Soldiers Sent to Army Camps, Shows an Increase of 839 Voters Over 1916.

GOVERNMENT TO PROSECUTE ALL FRAUDULENT VOTERS

Penitentiary Sentence Awaits Every Colored Man Who Votes in Violation of Law—Several Non-Partisan Organizations Band Together to Force Clean Election.

Clerks in the office of the Board of Election Commissioners yesterday compiled the names of all negroes in St. Louis who registered September 19, to be submitted to the Police Board as a guide to the police in making an investigation of the unusually heavy registration of negroes. A tabulation of the various precincts in which there is a topheavy increase in the negro registration, has been prepared by the Democratic Campaign Committee, for the information of the police.

Detailed evidence of fraudulent negro registration from vacant buildings, and the registration of large numbers of negroes from houses with only three or four rooms occupied by one family, has been arranged by the Democratic City Committee and submitted to the police through Glendy B. Arnold, chairman of the Board of Election Commissioners, who requested that a police investigation be made.

The Church Federation of St. Louis, the Citizens' Dry Alliance and other

have registered fraudulently or who attempt to vote if they are not legally entitled to cast ballots.

The dry organizations declare they will not permit Republican politicians to bring negroes to St. Louis and aid them to cast votes to defeat the temperance amendment at the November election. They assert they have combined to bring about the prosecution of fraudulent registration and illegal voting, and that if such evidence is found they will insist on a prosecution until violators are sent to prison. It will not be a "milk and water" prosecution followed by a "whitewash" after the election, they say.

By a recent law enacted by the Legislature, the dry organizations this time will be permitted to have challengers in the polling places, and will have the right to contest the election and cause ballot-boxes to be opened if evidence of fraud is produced.

Officials of the dry organizations and of the Democratic State Committee declare they will co-operate in obtaining evidence of the colonization of negroes and the prosecution of those who seek to vote illegally.

They declare that every negro in St. Louis who is entitled to vote will be protected in the casting of his ballot, and that all who do not possess the qualifications of voters must face prosecution if their names are on the registration books or if they attempt to vote.

Oliver to Act.

Prosecution of colonized negroes by the Federal authorities is made possible because Congressmen and a United States Senator are to be voted for at the November election. United States District Attorney Oliver has announced he will actively prosecute persons who violate the Federal law, if evidence is presented by the organizations having the registration investigation in charge.

Circuit Attorney McDaniel has declared that a fair and impartial election must be had in St. Louis November 5, and that he will issue a call for a special Grand Jury, if necessary, and will request indictments of whites or negroes implicated in fraudulent registration or voting.

A tabulation of heavy negro registration in so-called negro wards submitted yesterday to the Police Board points out 79 precincts, in which a thorough canvass should be made to find out the cause of suspiciously heavy registrations of negroes.

The number of negroes who have been sent to military service from the various wards is tabulated, based on the records of the draft boards. The number of negro registrants in 1916, is given, as compared with the registration on September 19 of this year.

A Strange Situation.

In the Sixth Ward it is shown that 686 negroes have been inducted into the military service by the Draft Board, and that the new registration shows there are 839 more negroes living in the ward than before their ranks were depleted by the army calls.

The records of the Fifth Ward show that 259 negroes have been sent to army duty, yet there are 159 more negroes registered in that ward than before the 259 negroes departed. In the Seventh Ward, 49 negroes have been sent to war service, yet the registration is 128 greater than before the Draft Board quotas were filled.

In the Seventeenth Ward, approximately 2,000 negroes have been called to army service, but the registration shows that 266 more negroes live in that ward than before the 2,000 negroes went to war. The Sixteenth Ward has a

total of 2,021 negro registrants, a gain of 416 over the previous registration before about 900 negroes were sent to military duty, the list shows.

The Draft Board in the Nineteenth Ward has sent 268 negroes to war service, its records show, but the recent registration apparently shows that 319 more negroes now live in the ward than before the Draft Board sent away its quota.

Vacant-House Registrants.

In support of the assertion that many negroes have registered from vacant houses, the report of a canvass has been submitted to the Police Board, showing that five negroes are registered from 2926 Lucas avenue, five from 3126 Lucas avenue, three from 3033 Washington avenue, one from each of 3140, 3120 and 3139 Washington avenue.

The vacant-house canvass has not been completed, and additional evidence will be turned over to the Police and Election Commissioners daily. A comparison with the City Directory of 438 names of the newly registered negroes shows that 256 are not reported in the directory. As the directory was published recently, the ward workers declare the absence of the great number of names indicates that the negroes were not in St. Louis at the time the book was prepared, and that they have not lived in the State one year, as required of voters.

The total negro registration on the books now is 15,803. This is the largest negro registration St. Louis ever had, the records show. In 1916 the total negro registration was 12,837. Since the 1916 registration more than 3,000 negroes have been sent to the military service by the draft boards.

ASKS COMMISSION NAMED TO SOLVE ELECTION PROBLEM

WASHINGTON, D. C., HERALD, SEPTEMBER 19, 1917.
Representative T. S. Jones Points to Difficulty Involving Negro Soldiers.

Baton Rouge, La., May 30.—Louisiana will be confronted by a grave danger at the close of the war, when the negro soldiers return home, unless steps are taken by the General Assembly to have the provisions of the Constitution governing suffrage re-written, in the opinion of Representative T. Sambola Jones of East Baton Rouge and other members of the House and Senate. When the negro soldiers come back home they will demand the right to vote, some of the lawmakers believe, and with the suffrage provisions of the Constitution a nullity as a result of the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Oklahoma case, the state will face a serious situation. Discussing the work of the General Assembly and what should be done, Representative Jones said:

"The session is fast slipping away with lots of important matters unsolved, some of them untouched. I was very anxious to get all prohibition matters off the board so that we could get down to work, and it will be glad news when the Alexandria zone bill

is settled.

MUST INCREASE PAY

"The people have just got to realize that war times have changed all calculations. If we don't have more pay for teachers, they will get into better business and the schools will do worse than drag. My three-quarter mill tax bill for one year, and two if required, will yield a little less than \$600,000. It will supply about what the teachers require. Then I want to see all the frills and excrescences taken from the system; the dead languages, art, music, drawing and the like have no real place in the public school system.

"Along about 1840, after the public school system had long been established under the inspiration of Jefferson, Massachusetts added the high schools and Boston had the first of these in the system. Vocational schools are all right and have a proper place under our theory of a public school system.

"Our people have got to realize that public and charitable institutions can not exist on past and present financial support, and more money has simply got to be provided.

"But by far the most important and overshadowing subject that ought to be solved has not yet been mentioned, and the session is far advanced. I refer to our registration and election laws. Section 5 of the registration and election article of the Constitution has been absolutely abrogated by the Supreme Court of the United States. It is as dead as a door nail.

CHANGES DEMANDED

"The situation is even worse than it was in 1898, when, under the inspiration of Governor Foster and the party leaders, the constitutional convention undertook to settle this question. It has served us well since then, but all our protection is now swept away. Not that there is any fear of negro domination, or even serious interference on his part with our elections—a higher power settled this from the beginning.

"But we must recast our constitutional provisions or sooner or later our representation in the Congress will be curtailed. I have my own theory about it, but it seems to me that a caucus or conference should be had and a strong commission named, not limited to members of the General Assembly, but the strongest men in and out of the assembly in the Democratic movement that will solve the difficulties.

"It seems to me that when the war ends the situation will be still worse. I need not elaborate. But unless this matter is disposed of I expect the time to come when there will be hurrying and scurrying, either for an extra session or a constitutional convention. As sensible men, having at heart the well-being of the state and of the Democratic party, we ought to act."

Elections

The Election 13, 1918

WELL, THE ALDERMANIC ELECTION is over and the hatchet, spades and other political tools can now be buried, for the time being at least. Of course some are bound to be disgruntled—couldn't help but be with such a bitter fight—but a true sport gives in when he is fairly whipped, and takes his medicine like a little man. These are too strenuous times to continue a local fight; if we must fight, "over there" is the best place to get it out of our system. Two men stood before the voters of the Second ward, Chicago, and asked to be elected to the city council; there was but one vacancy. The voters selected the man they wanted and the curtain was dropped.

There are so many other things political than need our united support that to quibble over one is sheer foolhardiness. It is our duty to stand back of the man we sent to represent us; if at the end of his term he does not measure up to the standard, haul him down and try another. Two years pass around very quickly, a fact that the elected man knows only too well. With a united vote in the Second ward marvels can be worked; we are just in our infancy; just beginning to see the light of our political day. Are we to wrangle among ourselves until the other fellows shake down all the plum or are we to throw aside petty differences and present at all times a solid front? The Defender feels confident that it voices the sentiments of all men when it extends hearty congratulations to our new alderman, Major Robert R. Jackson.

Right to Canvass Negro Registration Solicited by Police

Action, Already Under Way, Was Sanctioned by
Chairman Arnold Without Consent of
Other Election Commissioners.

ST. LOUIS MO GLOBE DEMOCRAT
OCTOBER 25, 1918

Developments yesterday in the St. Louis police shakeup threw new and amazing light on the mysterious attitude of the Police Board in maintaining silence as to why it suspended Chief of Police Young, Captains Pickel and Hess and Sergeants Silverman, Phillips and Mealy.

At a time when Republican politicians are charging that the suspensions were of political significance, in view of the approaching elections, the GLOBE-DEMOCRAT has learned that it was the Police Board and not the Board of Election Commissioners which originated the idea of a canvass of negro registration in the city.

The canvass, which is actually under way, was formally requested by Glendy B. Arnold, Democrat, chairman of the Election Board. It develops, however, that the Police Board first requested the Election Board to demand it. When the Election Board failed to act upon the suggestion, Arnold made it of his own motion.

Dempsey Makes Statement.

This information was verified last night by Vincent Dempsey, Republican election commissioner. When Dempsey declared to be a joint request of the was asked about it, he dictated the following statement to a GLOBE-DEMOCRAT reporter:

The Police Board asked the chairman of the Board of Election Commissioners to request the Election Board to demand a canvass of ne-

gros have since said that they had no idea it was to be used for political purposes, but were informed the canvass was asked by Democrats and Republicans alike.

Name Used Unfairly.

Rev. W. H. Geistweitz, pastor of the Third Baptist Church, made the following statement to the GLOBE-DEMOCRAT:

The use of my name in connection with the request for a canvass of the negro registration in St. Louis is scarcely fair. I have only the best of feelings for our colored citizens; they are as honorable as any other class of people, and the admixture of negro blood with that of other races in the battlefields yonder makes any reflection upon them utterly unworthy.

When the question was raised over the phone in a conversation as to whether I would join in a request of the governor and mayor for a canvass of an apparently unusual registration, I immediately answered yes—as much for the defense of the colored people as anything else. I attended no meeting of any sort where the matter was determined upon. The political use of this matter is reprehensible, not to say contemptible.

I would have answered the same way for any other apparent over-registration; for that has been the case in large cities throughout the country in past years. If any word of mine should have seemed an aspersion upon the colored citizens, I am profoundly sorry.

I am inclined to think, from common talk, that the method now followed among these people is anything but honorable. It should be repudiated by every decent man. I may say that I am in favor of a similar canvass for the congested districts of the city, or for any other section where there is the slightest suspicion that things are not right.

Responsibility Partly Admitted.

Rev. W. C. Shupp, active manager of the prohibition campaign in the state, and a frequent visitor at headquarters of the Democratic State Committee, has admitted part of the responsibility for the demand for a canvass.

Arnold has declared repeatedly that he had no idea of playing politics in his demand for the investigation. Yesterday he wrote the following letter to John Schmoll, chairman of the Republican City Committee:

If it would not be a matter of too great an inconvenience to the parties concerned, I should be very glad to have the opportunity within the next day or two of coming before a joint meeting of the Republican City Committee and the candidates of the Republican ticket for the purpose of making a statement in regard to the coming election, which, I believe, will be of considerable importance to

them. If you can arrange the meeting, please advise me of the time and place where it will be held, and I shall be very glad to be there.

Arnold declined to tell what he expected to say to the Republicans, but friends close to him believe he has decided to propose the co-operation of the Election Board with them in steps to insure a fair election.

Board to Meet Today.

Schmoll said the election commissioner probably will get the opportunity he seeks. The Republican Committee will meet today and the matter will be brought up.

Although the Police Board still maintains its silence as to its reasons for suspending Chief Young, the two captains and three sergeants, as well as for playing checkers with other officers who have been moved about from precinct to precinct with bewildering rapidity in the last few days, the belief is growing in the city that the commissioners feel they have started more than they thought.

They will meet today at Police Headquarters, when they will have before them the letter of John M. Atkinson, former assistant attorney general of Missouri, counsel for the captains and sergeants, demanding that they file charges immediately.

Unless charges are filed soon Atkinson will apply to the St. Louis Court of Appeals or to the Circuit Court for a writ of mandamus to compel the board to file charges.

He said yesterday he would follow this up with a quick notice to take the depositions of President Mansur, Philip B. Fouke, W. A. Girardin and Thomas J. Sheehan, Police Board members, who ordered the suspensions; M. R. Bevington, chief examiner for the United States Naturalization Service; Chas. E. Blair, an investigator for Bevington; Mme. Cole and Bettie Ray, resort keepers on Leonard avenue, and other witnesses, including politicians thought to be able to throw any light on the police tangle.

"I intend to go to the bottom of this, and it doesn't make any difference how many higher-ups may become involved," said Atkinson.

While Atkinson was clamoring for the filing of charges, there appeared in afternoon newspapers yesterday almost identical statements purporting to summarize the supposed charges.

That Chief Young on the night of October 9 personally visited the Dayton Street Police Station and ordered a detail of policemen assigned to picket the resorts of Frances Cole and Bettie Ray on Leonard avenue discontinued, although the Board of Police Commissioners had directed that it be maintained.

That Capt. Pickel ordered Bettie Ray, negro resort keeper, to leave St. Louis when at the time she was a government witness in the Hank Weeke naturalization case.

That Capt. Hess took dinner at the home of Bettie Ray seven years ago when he was in command of the Dayton Street Station.

That Sergeants Mealy, Silverman and Phillips were overzealous in their efforts to make Bettie Ray leave town.

Young Acted Under Orders.

It was reported last night that a police commissioner other than Mansur gave Young the order to go to the Day-

ton Street Station and take off the police detail assigned to the Leonard avenue resorts. Mansur was out of town at the time.

Commissioner Sheehan said he had never heard of the reported dinner of Capt. Hess at the resort of Bettie Ray seven years ago and the incident had never been discussed by the board. He asserted again that the board's action was nonpolitical and that the full facts would later be made known.

Following the resignation of Eugene Lever, a patrolman formerly on detail in the Leonard avenue district, information as to the probable charges became more clear.

After Lever's resignation this information came to light concerning the police situation in the Dayton Street District: That about a year ago officials of the Y. M. C. A. asked as a protection to soldiers quartered at the Y. M. C. A. that the Leonard avenue district be cleaned up, and Pickel was sent to the district to get rid of the resorts. Details of policemen, four to a block, were assigned to handle the work. These were changed every four days in personnel.

Suspended police officers state as the result of this police work that seventy-five or eighty women, running resorts, closed them and left the district. Madam Cole and Bettie Ray remained, however, and are said to have boasted of their influence and protection through politicians.

On August 23, according to reports, Sergt. Kelly arrested Bettie Ray and took her to the Dayton Street Station, where she became furious and said to Pickel:

"I'll show you where you can get off." She became so ugly in her mood and language that Pickel ordered her locked up.

"You've got to close that house and move out," Pickel told her.

"Where will I go?" she asked.

"You were out of the city once, why did you not stay out?" Pickel retorted.

He told his attorney, John M. Atkinson, that when this incident occurred he did not know she was a witness for the government in the Weeke naturalization case, but was simply carrying out his orders to clean up the Leonard avenue district.

Chief Naturalization Examiner Bevington wrote Pickel a letter which he got on August 20 advising him that Bettie Ray, Frances Cole and Rose Johnson were government witnesses and asked that they be protected from intimidation.

Pickel's first action was to make an investigation and lay his findings before Chief of Police Young, who instructed him to guard the women against any harm.

A detail was placed upon the houses by Pickel, which remained there, it is said, until it was ordered off by Chief Young upon the reputed instruction of a police commissioner, not the president of the board.

Safeguards Planned.

Henry Kortjohn and a committee of lawyers met yesterday and laid plans for safeguarding the franchise of negro or white voters who may be subjected to intimidation by the police or others during the canvass, and on election day and after.

An examination of the registration books in the office of the Board of Election Commissioners since the Demo-

(over)

cratic politicians challenged the integrity of the negro registration shows a heavy increase of white registration this year over the "off year" registration of 1914.

The total supplementary registration of whites and blacks in 1914 was 25,197, while the registration of white men alone this year was 39,163.

Actually, 1345 fewer negroes registered September 20, this year, than were registered in 1916, notwithstanding a known heavy influx of negroes to St. Louis, due to the East St. Louis race riots and the high wage inducement offered for labor by St. Louis industries.

No report of progress of the police canvass was made yesterday to the Board of Police Commissioners, Acting Chief O'Brien or to Chairman Arnold of the Election Board. O'Brien said Sergeant James King, a "very fine officer," and eighteen patrolmen were engaged in the canvass.

The police are in plain clothes, it was stated, and are said to be steered around by a negro in the employ of the Democratic Auxiliary Committee.

DALEY ASKS INVESTIGATION

OF BIG NEGRO REGISTRATION IN ST. LOUIS MO POST DISPATCH
OCTOBER 18, 1918

Chairman of Democratic City Committee Points to Increase in Seventeenth Ward Despite Enlistments.

Chairman Daley of the Democratic City Committee yesterday asked United States District Attorney Oliver and Circuit Attorney McDaniel to investigate for possible frauds the unusually large negro registration, shown by a canvass of the registration books to be 15,803. The largest previous negro registration was 12,837 in 1916.

Daley said that there were indications that negroes had been colonized in St. Louis, and that while they might have been brought here for legitimate work, he was convinced that few of the new arrivals had been in the city long enough to become legal voters. He pointed to his ward, the Seventeenth, from which nearly 2000 negroes had been sent to the army in the last year, and in which there are more negro voters registered this year than in 1916.

COLORED DEMOCRATS UNITE IN FOUR DISTRICTS

SKI YNN V STANDARD UNION
DECEMBER 11, 1918

The colored Democrats of the Fifth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Twenty-third Assembly districts met at the home of Ed Beebe, 175 Sumpter street, and combined the four districts. They organized a club with twenty-seven members, consisting of men and women. The club will be a part of the county organization, of which Wesley L. Young is leader.

The following temporary officers were elected: William Johnson, chairman; Mrs. F. Morighme, assistant chairman; A. Morighme, secretary; Mrs. L. Beebe, assistant secretary; Edward Beebe, chairman of house committee; Mrs. Williams, assistant chairman of house committee; L. Williams, treasurer; Mr. Hendrickson, chairman of investigating committee.

Senate Democrats Investigating Elections.

The Daily Herald
The Democrats in the United States Senate have begun an investigation of the election of Republicans from certain States to seats in that body. 11-16-18

It seems like a veritable joke a parody on honest elections for Democrats to consent, to say nothing of instituting, investigation of elections anywhere at any time.

Of course the intention is to confine the investigation to charges of corruption by Republicans in northern states. Senate Republicans ought to welcome the opportunity for investigation of the election of Senators and Representatives and should extend it to include the methods of securing seats in the Senate and House by Democrats from the disfranchising states. In those states there is only a ratification by white voters of men already elected in the white primaries of those states.

In the Disfranchising States Negroes are not permitted to vote and in the so-called general election only a few, usually those personally known to the registrars are permitted to "qualify." The unwritten law is religiously enforced, however that the number allowed to qualify as voters shall never be of sufficient numerical strength to warrant the formation of two parties, or to encourage a bolt from a white primary decision in the hope of securing Negro support in any election.

The exclusion of the Ne-

gro from the privilege of qualifying in order to vote is high handed, open, bold and in utter defiance of the United States Constitution. It corrupts and debases the politics of the disfranchising states to a far worse degree than the corruption through the use of money in other states. It causes a perversion of justice not only political justice but every phase of the life and living of the Negro in the South. It exalts the white man of the Disfranchising states in his own estimation and causes him to fancy that he is in partnership with the Almighty and is specially and particularly chosen and appointed by the Almighty to rule the Negro with an iron hand according to his own will.

It breeds strife, hatred, oppression, the Jim Crow, attempted residential segregation, the most barbarous and savage lynchings known to the world. It puts a value upon the white voter of the Disfranchising states and makes his vote count to the vote of three voters in states in which elections are honest and fair.

Elections in the disfranchising states should be thoroughly and searchingly investigated and the southern oligarchies should be overthrown.

ELECTION TUESDAY
The attention of voters is now drawn to the election which will take place next Tuesday, Nov. 5. The Republicans are making every effort to secure control of Congress, and from the outlook they have an excellent chance to do so. The Republican party is composed of true patriots who are welded together solely to the best interests of this country's welfare. The Republicans in Congress have been more loyal in support of the President in waging this war than even the Democrats, and

will be better able to legislate terms of lasting peace and enact reconstruction regulations. The people of this country have great confidence in the Republican party, and in this great crisis they will show it by putting them in control of Congress. In this state every Republican should vote for Mr. Williams, the candidate for the Senate, and our people in all parts of the country should remain loyal to the Grand Old Party.

LARGE REGISTRATION WORRIES DEMOCRATS

The Chicago Tribune
St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 18.—The large registration of negro voters for the November election has begun to worry Democratic leaders. A canvass completed last week by the Board of Election Commissioners shows a total of 15,803 Race men entitled to vote, as against 12,837 in 1916. The prospect of breaking into this vote has begun to worry the less informed Democratic leaders, and they have begun to stir up reports of legal action calculated to frighten the more timid ones, evidently not knowing that in the last Presidential election they received close to 4,000 votes, due to the weakness of the local Republican machine and the contempt in which it is held by a large number of Colored men.

After the riots a year ago it was known by all informed people that St. Louis received fully 90 per cent of the Race population of East St. Louis. The schools were overcrowded, and as a result the school board was compelled to make provision for more buildings. The Democratic leaders in their folly assert that because 3,000 Colored men have been inducted into the army the great decrease in the vote over that of 1916 cannot be understood. However, Colored men have reached the place where bulldozing tactics will not be feared from any quarter, and all those who have a right will vote.

Negro Secretary

The Montgomery Advertiser
Wants Soldiers of His Race to Vote

The Chicago Tribune
NEW YORK, Nov. 1.—Apprehensive that negro soldiers in army training camps, especially in the south, may be deprived of their right to vote at the election on November 5, John R. Shillady, secretary of the national association for the advancement of colored people, made public here Thursday a letter to President Wilson in which he sought the latter "to make certain that no dereliction of duty on the part of election authorities may serve to deprive any elector of his legal right."

After referring to the recent order of the secretary of war calling upon camp commandants to extend every facility to state commissions to supervise the elections for their citizens, Shillady concludes: "Disenfranchisement of any of our soldiers stationed within the borders of the United States would truly be a shameful travesty on our democratic principles of which you have been so clear and uncompromising an exponent."

DEMOCRATS SEEK PROOF OF NEGRO POLL BOOK FRAUDS

Prepared to Prosecute if Stories of Registration From Vacant Lots Are Borne Out.

ST. LOUIS MO STAR
Since OCTOBER 15, 1918 by the Board of Election Commissioners that negro registration in the city had increased 2,966 since 1916, steps have been taken by the Democratic City Committee and by the Democratic Campaign Committee, of which Guy A. Thompson is chairman, toward a vigorous investigation of alleged illegal registration, with a view to prosecutions by Circuit Attorney McDaniel.

Members of the Democratic City Committee had found, before the negro registration figures were made public, that negroes had been registering from vacant lots and vacant houses.

The registration books show one negro approximately for every ten whites. The heaviest increase in negro registration is in the Fifth, where 1,081 are registered. The Sixth has 2,012; Sixteenth 2,021; Seventeenth 3,148; Nineteenth 1,258; Twenty-second 1,203; Twenty-third 1,271; and Twenty-sixth 616.

Lawrence P. Daley, chairman of the Democratic City Committee, says many negroes were brought from East St. Louis by offers of jobs in munitions factories at higher wages than they were getting, and have registered although they have not acquired legal residence here.

In the Seventeenth Ward, Daley said, 2,882 negroes were registered in 1916. In this ward about 2,000 negroes have gone to war, but the new registration shows 3,148 registered there. Daley says this additional registration has come from Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi and Tennessee, and nearly all of it is illegal.

Arthur A. Lancaster, city committeeman for the Sixth Ward, says 2,021 negroes are registered in that ward, compared with 1,605 two years ago, although about 1,000 negroes from this ward have gone to war.

Daley and Lancaster declare that half of the newly registered negroes have not lived in the state the required year. Democratic committee officials purpose to prevent illegal registrants from voting November 5 and to prosecute them as well.

Elections Republicans Have Little Hopes of Winning In State

Contests of Some Interest on in Three Congressional Districts

With nearly seventy thousand citizens of Alabama out of the state on war service—the general election of Tuesday next finds a complete Republican ticket for state offices in the field in opposition to the nominees of the Democratic party chosen in the August primary. The dominant party in the state has no apprehension that its nominees will be beaten, the state usually being overwhelmingly Democratic, but there are contests in three congressional districts which have occasioned more than ordinary interest from the fact that the Democratic nominees were strongly opposed in the primary election within the ranks of their own party.

Fight on Huddleston
The most spectacular of these contests is in the Ninth district, where Congressman George Huddleston, the Democratic nominee is opposed by J. O. Thompson, a strong leader in Republican politics in Alabama. In the primary Mr. Huddleston was opposed by Rev. A. J. Dickinson, who had made a successful local race in Birmingham, and Fred M. Jackson. He had a clear lead over both competitors when the votes were counted, the strong union labor vote in Jefferson county apparently going to Mr. Huddleston solidly and the political line-up made in the city of Birmingham to beat the incumbent being wrecked on divided political ambition. Mr. Huddleston won out in the primary over the protest of President Wilson against his re-election, a letter from the president published on the eve of the primary declaring that Congressman Huddleston had been "a consistent opponent of the administration." While the Republican candidate in the general election is considered the biggest man in Birmingham that his party could have advanced and while he is shrewdly taking advantage of the Democratic hostility to Mr. Huddleston caused by the latter's attitude on war measures which have been before congress, it will surprise the state if the Republicans win in the Ninth district. Mr. Huddleston appears to have all the best of the situation as the Democratic nominee in a district strongly Democratic, but the Republicans have made a big effort to defeat him and claim an alignment with forces outside their own party the result of which is anxiously awaited by the Huddleston leaders.

Burnett Also Opposed
Congressman John L. Burnett, of the seventh district, was nominated over John A. Lusk in the primary after a hard fight, is opposed by Oliver D. Street as the Republican candidate. The objection to the re-election of Mr. Burnett in the Democratic ranks is similar to that against

Congressman Huddleston—that he failed to vote for administration measures in congress, or actively opposed war legislation requested by President Wilson. The Democrats of the district have no doubt that Mr. Burnett will be returned.

In the Fourth district, where Congressman Fred A. Blackmon is opposed by J. A. Bingham, Republican, there seems little doubt of the re-election of Mr. Blackmon. The other Democratic candidates for congress, who have no opposition, are:

McDuffie Only New Man
First district, John McDuffie, who beat the incumbent, Oscar L. Gray, in the primary by little more than 100 votes after a sensational race in which five candidates divided the votes; Second, S. H. Dent, Jr.; Third, Henry B. Stegall; Fifth, J. Thomas Hefflin; Sixth, W. B. Oliver; Eighth, E. B. Almon, and Tenth, William B. Bankhead.

Senator John H. Bankhead, of Jasper, is unopposed for the United States senate, the tremendous endorsement he received in every county of Alabama last August discouraging any Republican opponent who might have ambition to succeed him.

Opposition All Down the Line.
The candidates for state offices to be voted on Tuesday are:
Governor—Thomas E. Kilby, democrat; Dallas B. Smith, republican.
Lieutenant Governor—Nathan L. Miller, democrat; C. M. Cox, republican.
Secretary of State—William P. Cobb, democrat; David H. Long, republican.
Treasurer—R. L. Bradley, democrat; J. F. Sloan, republican.
Attorney General—J. Q. Smith, democrat; C. M. McKay, republican.
Auditor—Fitzhugh Lee, democrat; L. A. Carroll, republican.
Superintendent of Education—Spright Dowell, democrat; D. E. Moody, republican.

Associate members of public service commission—B. H. Cooper and S. P. Gaillard, democrats; John Isbell and C. R. Robinson, republicans.
Associate Justices of the Supreme Court—A. D. Sayre and T. C. McClellan, democrats; Chester Tubbs and W. M. Chenault, republicans.
Associate Justice of the Court of Appeals—W. H. Samford, democrat; W. M. Ford, republican.

State Committee in Quandary.
Two outstanding features of the general election this year are the absence from the state of thousands of voters in the military service who are unable to exercise their right of franchise because the Alabama law declares that electors must vote in the precinct in which they are living, and the fact that the newly constituted democratic executive committee of the state has taken no part on behalf of the democratic candidates who have opposition. The chairman of the present state committee is J. K. Dixon of Talladega. As far as known, he has issued no statement calling upon the voters of his party to support the democratic nominees.

It has been suggested that Mr. Dixon takes it for granted that they will do

it anyhow and that pre-election pronouncements are merely time-honored documents which very few people read. It has also been suggested that the new state committee is between the devil and the deep sea on the question of actively supporting the candidacy of Congressman Huddleston in the Ninth district, the immediate followers of the democratic faction represented by the state committee being the active opponents of Mr. Huddleston in the August primary. There is said to be a good deal of "political soreness" still existing in Birmingham over the first success of Mr. Huddleston and it has been hinted that a good many democrats who voted against him in the primary will stay away from the polls on Tuesday.

Whether the inactivity of the state committee in this election has been influenced by the Huddleston situation in the Ninth district or not, it has caused considerable comment throughout the state and some of the democratic leaders with long memories have stated that they cannot remember any former general election in which the state committee has not taken an active part for the return of the candidates nominated in the democratic primary.

SPokane Wash Review SEPTEMBER 24 1918 SOCIALIST BAIT FOR NEGROES

Evidently Part of a Pro-German Campaign, Says Mr. Williams.

To the Editor of The Spokesman-Review: It has seemed rather strange to me that just at the time the German propagandist was trying to create discontent and disloyalty among the negroes the American socialist party should discover him and tell him how ill-treated he was. Mention has been made of action taken by the party's national executive committee some months ago looking forward to reaching the negro. It is only quite recently, however, that a decided step has been taken in this direction. The socialists now are endeavoring to win over the negro by remembering him conspicuously in their party congressional platform, on which platform they will run candidates for congress this fall. This is probably the first time the socialist party has had written in their party platform a plank devoted to the negro. Complete, it is as follows:

"The negroes are the most oppressed portion of the American population, of which they form one-ninth. They are the victims of lawlessness, including hanging and burning; widespread political disfranchisement and loss of civil rights. They are especially discriminated against in economic opportunity. We therefore demand:
"First; that the negro be accorded full rights of citizenship, political, educational and industrial.
"Second; that congress shall enforce the provisions of the 14th amendment by reducing the representation in congress of such states as violate the letter and spirit of the amendment."
Heretofore slight attention has been paid to the American negro by the leading members of the socialist party, except perchance an effervescent "parlor socialist" in a burst of eloquence would apply to him some "Ben Tillman adulations."

It is very doubtful if the German spy system, working in conjunction with the American socialist and its affiliated organizations, will be able to shake the negro's loyalty to Uncle Sam, as is evident from an address at Chautauque, N. Y., August 19, given by Major Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala. Speaking about the black man and the war, he said, in part:
"It has been said that German propaganda in this country would be aimed at the weakest link, the negro. But I know negroes too well to worry about that. Not a single negro has been arrested in this country on charges of disloyalty.
"In education we have made a great advance. At the time of the civil war only 3 per cent of the negroes in the United States could read and write. At the last census over 70 per cent could read and write. We own 10,000,000 acres of land, 600,000 homes, 100,000 stores and run 75 banks.
"We are going to see to it that we as American citizens do our full share in helping the country which we all love and for which we shall, if necessary, give up our lives."
Evidently the negro will not be fooled by the crocodile tears of the socialists.
J. E. WILLIAMS,
2425 Maxwell, city.

TROUBLE APPEARS IN NEGRO DEMOCRACY NEWARK N. J. LEDGER DECEMBER 8, 1918

A few days ago the Essex County Colored Democracy met for the annual election of officers. Instead of a feast of harmony, as was to be expected among the colored Democrats, because of the recent victory of the party of their political choice in the past election, there was rough sailing.

C. M. Brown, secretary of the executive committee of the organization, and pioneer among the colored Democrats in this part of the state, is on the war path. Mr. Brown, in a statement, says that according to the constitution of the association, the period during which an officer may hold office is limited. At the time of the annual election several officers had reached the period of limitation and were not eligible for re-election. In spite of this, he claims the meeting was so conducted that no election was held, and the men who should have been retired are retained in office for another year.

The matter has caused disruption in the ranks of the followers and is being brought to the attention of the main Democratic organization. There were some hopes among the colored men of having one of their members appointed to the position held by J. T. Cheshire of the Republicans, but with the fight on it is feared that this cannot be accomplished.

COLORED VOTERS ORGANIZE HARTFORD CONN TIMES OCTOBER 24, 1918

Democratic Club is Formed and Officers Elected—Plan Rally for Next Wednesday.

The colored voters of Hartford and vicinity organized a democratic club Wednesday evening at No. 724 Main

street. Officers were elected as follows:
President—Roland Cannis, 11 Winters street.
Vice-President—E. H. Green, Wethersfield.
Secretary—Walter H. Tucker, No. 96 Russell street.
Treasurer—C. C. Morrow, No. 105 Martha street.

The object of the club as stated Wednesday evening is as follows:
"The club was organized for a high, noble purpose. It has been intimated because of the one-sidedness of the colored vote that they have been a political menace, but owing to the sequence of events, we are ready to demonstrate to the public that we are open to honest convictions."

The meeting was largely attended and considerable enthusiasm was shown. The club will hold its next meeting Monday night at No. 724 Main street, and a rally will be held next Wednesday evening at Antlers hall, No. 9 Morgan street. Refreshments will be served.

G. O. P. IGNORES COLORED VOTERS.

Rev. Mr. Gay Declares It
Has Been Unfaithful to
Its Trust.

ADVISES VOTE FOR DEMOCRATS

HARTFORD CONN TIMES
OCTOBER 1, 1918

Governor Criticised for
Failure to Appoint Colored Men to Office.

That the colored population of Hartford are behind the president and the democratic administration, was very much in evidence Wednesday night, when a large crowd gathered in Antlers' hall on Morgan street to attend the first rally held by colored democrats. There was considerable speech making. The Rev. Walter Gay charged that the republican party had not been faithful to the negro race.

During the evening the colored voters endorsed the policies advocated by President Wilson, and many impromptu speeches were made. One young man said he had just returned from visiting his cousin in Washington, D. C., and that while there he was told, and saw for himself, that the colored people of the country are gradually turning from the republican party to the democratic ranks. This young man also added that in Hartford the tendency is to go with the democratic party, the party which has the interest of the negro at heart, as he said.

Mr. Gay in his speech said: The republican party has been in power in this state for four years. Can you point to anything that it has done to encourage you to continue your support? Has not the governor had the appoint-

ment of many commissions? Has he (their) unembarrassed spokesman seen fit to appoint one single colored man to any place in this state? Perhaps I may be ignorant of what has been done, but I think I am right in saying that he could have honored some one of his colored constituents to show that he did not mean to ignore the twenty-thousand negro voters of the state. But your high prestige as the nation's spokesman, no less than as the "grand old party" spokesman of the Democratic party, rain or shine, therefore he did not think it mattered much. But we intend to show the party that it does matter. Even in municipal politics we are ignored.

After all the support we have given the republican party there is not even a supernumary policeman of color, not a clerkship offered to the colored voters of this city.

And why is it so? It is so because you have been led to the polls and voted and after that you are forgotten until voting time comes again. Do not be ashamed of the stand you have taken. It means that you are to be respected by those who want your suffrage.

Speak out by your vote next Tuesday, and send Hon. Augustine Lonergan to congress, and the Hon. Mr. Spellacy to the governor's chair for the state of Connecticut, and you will be proud of your vote."

WILSON URGED TO GUARD NEGRO SOLDIERS' VOTES

ELECTORAL RIGHT OF COLORED MEN IN SOUTHERN CAMPS MAY BE CURTAILED.

N Y C CALL
NOVEMBER 2, 1918
The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, through its secretary, John R. Shillady, yesterday made public the following letter to President Wilson. In it the President is appealed to, both as President and as the spokesman for the Democratic party, to safeguard the rights of Negro electors, particularly colored soldiers on duty in the several training camps of the nation. Concerning their opportunities lawfully to cast their ballots for the candidates of their choice, the association expresses itself as apprehensive. The association asserts in many of the Southern states Negro electors have been prevented from casting their ballots, and says colored men in the uniform of the United States will wait eagerly to hear whether their right to vote under the laws of their respective states will not only be freely granted, but will be encouraged. The association's letter follows:

"Your excellency's solemn appeal to the electors of the nation to register their approval of your leadership (that you might) continue to

Particularly do we speak on behalf of thousands of Negro citizens of certain of the states, soldiers on duty in the several training camps of the nation, concerning whose opportunities lawfully to cast their ballots for the candidates of their choice we are apprehensive. The expressions of certain Southern senators in the United States Senate when the woman suffrage amendment was being debated in that body, no less than the common knowledge of the well-informed, are warrant for the statement that in many of the Southern states Negro electors have been prevented by devious expedients on the part of election officials from casting their ballots. While the election of officials to whom we refer are one and all members of the Democratic party, we do not charge this denial of democracy against the party everywhere. But we do say that thereby a solemn obligation and grave responsibility are assumed by the party's spokesman in so critical an hour and under the extraordinary circumstances under which you have spoken.

"On October 16 last the secretary of war issued a general order to camp commandants that every facility be extended by them to the several state commissions which may appear at the camps for the purpose of supervising the elections for their respective citizens in such camps. We trust that we are unduly apprehensive in believing that some of these commissions may endeavor rather to prevent than to facilitate the voting of colored men in the camps. The disfranchisement of any of our soldiers stationed within the borders of the United States would truly be a shameful travesty on our democratic principles, of which you have been so clear and uncompromising an exponent. That the apprehension of which we have spoken is shared by many citizens of the country, particularly colored men, is, we believe, a fact. Colored men in the uniform of the United States will wait eagerly to hear whether their right to vote under the laws of their respective states will not only be freely granted, but will be encouraged."

Police Board Rushes Negro Canvass, but Is Still Dumb on Shakeup

Ignores Ousted Officers' Demand Charges Be Revealed and Counsel Will Ask Mandamus Writ if Refusal Continues.

ST LOUIS, MO GLOBE DEMOCRAT
OCTOBER 24, 1918

The Police Board remained inactive yesterday in the matter of preferring formal charges against Chief Young, Captains Pickel and Hess and Sergeants Silverman, Phillips and Mealy, but the Police Department was very busy in a canvass of negro registration, according to an arrangement it made with Hendy B. Arnold, Democratic chairman of the Board of Election Commissioners.

Reiterated charges of Republicans that the suspension of the chief and his five subordinates on the eve of a general election is bound to have a political influence on the conduct of the voting, particularly in relation to negroes, have not availed to jar the board out of its amazing silence on the shakeup. Neither has the board taken any notice of the Republican demand that the registration canvass include mushroom hotel districts in downtown Democratic strongholds.

Unauthorized by Board.
Request for the negro canvass was made by Arnold without the authorization of the Election Board. He presented a letter signed by several clergymen and it was stated that the Church Federation, the Citizens' Dry Alliance and the Missouri Antisaloon League demanded the canvass because of reports of a heavy negro registration in the city and a fear that the negroes would vote against the prohibition amendment to the state constitution.

The GLOBE-DEMOCRAT yesterday discovered that the Church Federation had not authorized any such appeal by any vote of its members or through any meeting of the organization. Rev. William R. King, its president; George Warren Brown, an influential lay member, and Rev. R. H. Geistweit, chairman of the Committee on Evangelization, all declared they had not been informed of it until they read about it in the newspapers.

Clergy Regrets Action.
Several clergymen who belong to the organization expressed regret the Church Federation should have become identified with the Democratic state campaign in this manner. They say the prohibition amendment fight should be kept strictly nonpartisan and expressed misgivings that efforts to tie

however, do not conceal their uneasiness in view of the Police Board's unexplained silence over the suspension of Young, Pickel, Hess, Silverman, Phillips and Mealy, and the recent transfer.

Southern Democracy

N Y C CALL
OCTOBER 18, 1918
We presume that the Democratic party is particularly anxious to extend democracy abroad. It is rather a difficult thing to export something if your own supply is very limited, especially if it is of a damaged character. We have reference to the democracy that prevails in the home of the Democratic party, the "solid South."

Throughout the Southern states there are thousands of poor whites and Negroes who never in all their lives knew what it was to cast a vote. Thousands of those in the training camps and now abroad do not exercise this right of citizenship, and can never hope to exercise it unless the ruling party itself repudiates its attitude on the matter of suffrage. It is claimed that in the state of Virginia, the birthplace of Jefferson, "father" of the Democratic party, of 550,000 men of voting age only 150,000 are voters. It is further claimed that of the 179,000 men registered for military service only 30,000 can qualify for the suffrage under the laws of Virginia.

Throughout the South the same situation prevails. One person in 17 votes in Virginia, one in 29 in Mississippi, one in 30 in South Carolina and one in 19 in the whole Democratic South. On the score of the franchise, this section of the country bears the same relation to the rest of the United States that reactionary Prussia does to Germany as a whole. It is the reactionary Junker region, and forms a solid block of states for the Democratic party.

What emancipating influence can a political party rooted in such a backward region carry to other parts of the world? It is this region, also, that is most reluctant to give up the destruction of its child life in factory hells. Here the last stand against the enfranchising of women also will be made. Will some one please tell us how to democratize the Democrats?

N Y C PRESS
NOVEMBER 29, 1918
There is talk in Washington that the next Congress will pass a bill cutting down to constitutional limits the representation of the southern states which do not permit negroes to vote. This would certainly be a very good thing to do and it would have been a very good thing had it been done years ago. These states select congressman on the basis of population, but only about half the population has any voice in the matter. If the darkeys are not permitted to vote they ought not to be counted for congressional representation. Of course, if a Republican Congress passes such a bill Mr. Wilson can be depended upon to veto it, and there is not the necessary two-thirds majority to override it. There have been times when the President was Republican and Congress, too, when such a measure could have been enacted, but the leaders of the G. O. P. did not think it

they did not do it. Neither party is without blame in this matter.

We have thought quite a deal concerning the Grand Jury's report rendered about a week ago to Judge Falkenhainer. Especially that portion that referred to Negro policemen and the Negro criminal. While we fully agree that there should be more Negro policemen in St. Louis, and we see no particular reason why they should not wear the regulation uniform, yet we do not understand why the Grand Jury should point their finger at, and make special mention of Negro criminals in view of the fact that according to a report by a former Assistant Circuit Attorney, the percentage in crimes were higher among the white criminals than it was among the colored.

While we condemn crime among our race, and wish it was possible that such a charge could not be laid at its door, yet, we do not enjoy having these crimes constantly held up before the public. It has always seemed to us that the police are at all times over anxious to fasten crime on some Negro. Many times no doubt, the real criminal makes his get-a-way while the police are looking for a Negro.

Of course, no one believes for a moment, that the Negro receives the same treatment at the hands of the police that other citizens receive, because among their personal friends and associates, and their relatives there are found no Negroes. These are some of the facts that we are sure that the Grand Jury did not take into consideration.

The police department has our co-operation in helping to stamp-out crime in our city. And we would suggest that in all localities where these criminals congregate the police should make regular rounds and special search of the frequenters, for gun-toters. This would keep the violator of the law, in fear of being "pinched" and as the Grand Jury has well said, prosecute the offender to the full extent of the law.

In their mad scramble for some evidence to charge the Negro with false registration, the Democrats have now found that 153 Negroes have registered as whites. While we are willing to admit that there are a few of our race who might be mistaken for whites, it is absolutely ridiculous to charge that 153 men in one precinct of the Seventeenth Ward were able to camouflage and deceive the election officials.

We understand that to register as a qualified voter one must present himself in person and sign on the registration books in the presence of the election officials. It is absurd to say that they were deceived.

This shows the irresponsible judges and clerks of both parties. This looks like a collation of these officials to do some crooked work. The evidence is plain. Then why make the great "boogaboo" over the Negro.

The Negro is not the guilty party. Turn on a little more light in the right direction and all the world will see who the guilty ones are.

By JAMES CALLAWAY.

THE new party, calling itself the "National race or color. The platform takes the same party," promulgated a platform that view of the "enforcement" matter that Sec- the natural outcome of all this departure retay McAdoo set forth in his letter to Mrs. from the principles upon which this govern- Chairman Catt to be read before the "Hear- ment was established. For several years this ings" of the suffrage committee. column has called attention of our people to One looked for just such a platform as the the progress of this "new order of things." inevitable trend of the time and the failure But somehow no protest were made by the of the Democratic party of today to stand

for the principles upon which the Democratic party was founded. Not long since that staunch old Democratic journal the Houston Post, in an editorial under the caption "Our Fading Trademarks," said: "So far as we can see the Democratic party now in power has absolutely discarded her principles which called it into being, and is fully embarked upon an uncharted sea of Socialism, federalism, opportunism and a form of democracy in which the individualism that was the faith of the fathers is to be honored no longer."

Why, Senator J. Ham Lewis, "the whip" of the Senate and the pet of the President, declared in a speech recently that the time was near when we would have but two forms of government—the "Federal and Municipal," and yet neither the Senate nor the White House rebuked him for it.

Alexander H. Stephens said: "The great vital question now is: Shall the Federal government be arrested in its progress and brought back to original principles or shall it go on taking rapid strides until it reaches consolidation and this nation be one vast commonwealth?"

On the domestic crisis confronting the Democratic party the Houston Post, the great paper of Texas, says: "Once again our Democratic President abandons his old-time political principles and embraces the national brand of woman's suffrage. But a few months ago he favored action State by State and only through State action, but now he has gone to those who want Federal action and Federal control of the franchise."

Then the Post remarks: "What the radicals are doing to our form of government in the excitement of war, when basic principles are lost sight of and only opportunism, expediency, prejudice and experimentalism are active, remains to be seen. But if a sober second thought fails to halt present movements in time, we will emerge from the war with a new form of government."

Is J. Ham Lewis jumping on the new bandwagon? Does he sniff something in the atmosphere of Washington to have him say "It will soon be only two forms of government—the 'Federal and the municipal'?" He is spying out the land in Illinois for his race. Is this new program of only "two forms of government—the 'Federal and the municipal'—necessary for J. Ham to win?"

Henry Watterson, observing the political capers of "J. Ham," is led to remark:

"Alas, the futility of printer's ink! Jim Ham may be a mountebank and is a joke. But when he proposes the total abolition of the States and the complete centralization of the Federal government he merely takes the language of Socialism and prepares the way for his return to the Senate from Illinois as a Socialist, not a Democratic, candidate."

"That indeed seems the trend of the Administration, of which J. Ham is a spokesman and confidant. The President surrendered when he urged the adoption of the woman suffrage amendment. We are to have no more Constitutional Democracy—just Social Democracy—no more State rights—just Federal rights. Wilsonward the Star of Empire takes its way!"

The plain people are beginning now to take notice. Absolute confidence in the head of the party led to absolute trust in his leadership. But they heard something

new party's when their leader embraced the doctrines of men and Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Chapman and stands with Mrs. Norman D. Whitehouse.

The writer encountered quite a group of farmers in a heated discussion on Saturday. Knowing them all, he joined them. What do you suppose was the subject matter of their talk? They were indulging in ugly words about the President abandoning the South and espousing the plan of the suffragettes to humiliate the South and take from the States the right to regulate the franchise and bestow it upon the Federal government.

And they further said were it not for the war and their agerness for its success they would organize indignation meetings and tell the Administration to put no "humiliations" upon the South, and especially to beware of bringing back that era of "terrorism" to the women of the rural districts—a condition which J. Ham Lewis and others of his ilk have lost sight of.

The blood was boiling in these farmers and only war patriotism restrained them from open abuse of those backing the movement to subject the farmers' wives to the "frightfulness" that was theirs from the days of Thad Stevens up to a few years ago.

The terms of our Constitution set forth the relations of the States to the Union, and this relation must be respected or there will be trouble in the future.

NOVEMBER 9, 1918
NO MORE SECTIONAL GOVERNMENT

There is every reason to believe that much of the responsibility for Democratic defeat lies in the sectional character of the party in Congress. Not all liberal minded people are willing to accept the Solid South as a representative expression of the popular will still hidebound by traditions and still living in fear of "negro domination" and other ghosts.

What they do complain of is the lack of intelligence on the part of the leaders in both Houses in not assuming that the South was entitled to only a proportional share of leadership relative to the whole country. It is true that for a long time Committees of both Houses have been made up of old members promoted to chairmanships by seniority of service on the committees but that is a vicious principle.

If one-half of the prominent chairmanships in the two Houses had been given to the ablest Democratic members from the North so that there would have been a fair territorial distribution it seems likely that the Republicans would have had a much harder time in securing control. This was asking too much of the Southern leaders who seemed anxious only to retain hereditary power. They would not listen to the pleadings of men of their own party from the North and West.

Moreover the constant protection of the cotton growing industry injured their cause. Perhaps it never was wise to tax cotton, but the Democratic leaders from the cotton States were most unwise in the way they flared to every time the

In complete

Office Holding

Dr. William Riley, Republican, Wins in St. Louis Election

Chicago Defender
Efforts of Whites to Stir Up Race Hatred Rebuked by Voters;

Chas. Turpin Elected Constable

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 6.—The election result in Missouri took everybody on their feet, and took Champ Clark very much off his. In this city Dr. W. M. Riley was elected to the lower house of the state legislature by a handsome majority, while Charles H. Turpin, the business man, was elected constable by an overwhelming vote. Mr. Turpin has held this position before, and recently went through the courts on a contest for it.

Dr. Riley is a progressive citizen, and will make a good representative. "I will represent the district," said Dr. Riley, "and will remember that I represent all the people in the district."

By J. M. Batchman

In a last minute appeal to defeat Dr. William M. Riley, Republican candidate for the Lower House of the State Legislature, the Chouteau-Lindell Improvement Association, representing a part of the city which was very active against the Colored people in the segregation election, adopted the following resolution which would do the soul of a Bleese or Tillman good:

"Whereas, The Chouteau-Lindell Improvement Association, a nonpartisan organization to protect the homes of white persons in Chouteau place and Lindell place against the invasion of Negroes, has learned that William M. Riley, Republican candidate for the Legislature in the Fourth District, is a Negro; and,

Whereas, the great majority of voters in the district are white, and believing that a great majority of the white voters are not informed of the facts in the case, a nonpartisan meeting of the white voters of the Twentieth, Twenty-first and Twenty-second Wards was called for the purpose of informing the voters of the Fourth District; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the white voters of the district be urged to scratch the name of William M. Riley from their ballots at the election Tuesday.

This association is headed by Joseph H. Llewellyn, who attempted to criticize the Republican party because it decided that a Negro had been found in the person of Dr. Riley who had the brains and character to represent the party and the people of the Fourth District, if the choice could be founded on merit.

The State of Missouri has never had one of us as a member of the Legislature, and only in recent years have our people begun to aspire for honors which are equally theirs with other members of the electorate.

Ignorant Class Leads.

The Chouteau-Lindell Improvement Association is one of those organizations, which from the very analysis of

its purposes and propaganda, recommends itself to the cultured section of the city, as representing an ignorant class of red necks who are a detriment to community life, improvement and progress in its broadest sense and below the common level of the great masses to whom they make their strongest appeals for popular support.

The Chouteau-Lindell Improvement Association, in its insulting position relative to Dr. Riley's candidacy, forgets that the white boys from this section of the city, do not give a tinker's dam for segregation or Negro encroachment when under fire in the front line trenches in France, and will not countenance much if any of that spirit when they return, if much of this gruelling experience has to be gone through as the present fighting indicates. Out of this will come the spirit of true democracy and there will be no place for such organizations as the Chouteau-Lindell Improvement Association.

THE BOLLES DEFEAT IN THE 21ST N. Y. CONG. DISTRICT.

The echoes of the special elections held in New York City March 5th to fill Congressional vacancies are still ringing and eliciting comment from race papers.

The progress of the Negro in independent thinking and in pursuing a course believed to be for the race's interests, or manifesting sympathy for those who pursue such a course, is illustrated to a remarkable degree by the views expressed in regard to the defeat of Mr. John A. Bolles, the Republican nominee.

The number of Negro Democrats among the half million Negroes who are able to exercise the right of suffrage and the million who are disfranchised is incon-

sequential. So few indeed are they that the Negro Republican vote is not affected by their loss. But since the McKinley Administration when the color line was given executive recognition and color was regarded as a disqualification for appointment to public offices and the McKinley color line continued through the succeeding Republican administrations, there has been a growing restlessness among Negro voters. They feel that the Republican Party in silently approving of democratic disfranchisement of the Negro in the South and depriving the race of representation in Congress where their preponderance of numbers entitles them to it, perpetrates a wrong upon the race which cannot be slightly passed over. Under the McKinley administration and increasingly so under each succeeding Republican administration Negroes were refused appointment to positions in the public service on the sole ground of color. Public office is a public trust and is the common property of all citizens of the Republic and every taxpaying citizen who bears his portion of the governmental burden has a just right to share its benefits and to participate in the reward flowing therefrom.

Moreover, without reducing representation in Congress and the Electoral College for for which the Negro is counted in the South but deprived of the right to vote, the party organization at Chicago in 1916 changed the basis of representation in order to reduce Negro representation in Republican National Conventions.

Negro Republicans North and South are unable to see the justice of Republican approval of democratic disfranchisement at the ballot box and then these bosses disfranchise Negro Republicans in the party organization because the bosses themselves connive at the democratic disfranchisement.

And where are the great leaders of the Grand Old Party who have expressed horror at the numerous and inhuman lynchings of Negroes? How many have risen in their seat in Congress and denounced the wanton and barbaric burnings of human beings in "free and liberty loving" America.

Why is it that a Congressional investigation cannot be started to discover whether there are states which are unable to administer its laws with regard to the taking of human life?

In the face of anarchy which has swept and is still sweeping the South and spreads occasionally to the North the silence of Republicans in Congress is oppressive.

It appears that Mr. Bolles was opposed to supporting a law making lynching a Federal crime. If so his defeat was doubly deserved.

The Negroes of the country are still loyal Republicans but must have recognition. They want lynching to come under federal supervision, they are tired of the disfranchisement of a million voters of the race in the South.

It is to be hoped that under the new leaders that have come to the party effort

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will be made to bind the Negro closer to the party rather than alienate his support.

COLORED PEOPLE BUSY FOR MERRILL MOORES

REGARD HIM RIGHT MAN FOR
THE PLACE.

DUTY AT PRIMARY URGED

MAY 4, 1913
The thinking class of colored citizens of the city have read with much interest the open letter "To the Colored People of the City," which appeared in The Indianapolis News Thursday afternoon, May 2, over the signature of Charles Henry Caton. Although Mr. Caton's name is not one of the familiar ones to the colored citizens of the city, his message was timely and is deserving of appreciation.

At a time when the minds of the people in general are busy with the big problems to be worked out, there is great danger that some of the duties nearer home are going to be overlooked, and it is well worth while to call the attention of the colored voter to the fact that they can not neglect the sacred duty of casting their ballot for good men at the primary election next Tuesday.

A number of substantial colored citizens have asked the writer to say to Mr. Caton and the public in general that the colored people as a whole need urging to do their duty when they see that they are working earnestly in the interest of Merrill Moores for congress; that if it is possible for the colored people to elect Mr. Moores, he will be elected.

Action of Ministers.

About two weeks ago the Interdenominational Council of Colored Ministers of this city sent a communication to Mr. Moores, pledging their unqualified support, and the secretary, the Rev. John Brice, has received an appreciative reply from Mr. Moores. This organization includes a large number of ministers whose influence is felt in Indianapolis, not only along religious lines, but educationally and politically. The ministry is no longer afraid to urge that the right of suffrage is a sacred obligation, to waste which is no less pardonable than to bury the one talent. Among the members of the council are the Revs. G. W. Ward, P. T. Gorham, H. L. Herod, Charles Sumner Williams, John Brice, E. A. Clark, B. J. F. Westbrooks, W. W. Wines, G. L. Lillard, Charles W. Lewis, R. C. Ransom, F. F. Young, G. W. Gore, A. Cottman, F. L. Morris and others whose civic influence means much to the life of the colored people here.

Mr. Caton has endeavored to show the colored people that Mr. Moores deserves their support, especially because he has introduced the anti-lynching measure, aimed, he says, for the direct interests of the colored people. This is all right and is to be taken in the spirit that it is given, but the colored people want it understood that if Mr. Moores had never thought of the anti-lynching bill, they know it to be their duty to support him anyhow, because in their own opinion he is the best man for the place.

Praise for Moores.

Yesterday one of the leading colored school men in this city was approached by a white friend of Mr. Moores, who brought up Mr. Moores's bill as an ar-

gument for his re-election, and he re-terested public citizens and rally them. He said: "The colored people next Tuesday at the polls to see if they will support me. He has always had a friendly interest in the colored people. If it were not for the fact that they had previously demonstrated their interest in the best citizenship for the colored people, if his entire public record were not the kind that deserves the support of all good citizens, his anti-lynching measures, coming at this time, might smack of politics, and there might be those who would mistrust his motives. Mr. Ervin has always been a good representative citizen, and we honor ourselves by supporting him at this time."

Booker T. Washington said several years ago that the Indianapolis negroes formed one of the most distinct groups north of the Mason and Dixon line, as judged from various angles. He knew then and the colored people know now that many opportunities for industrial and economic advancement have been denied them, but, on the other hand, they enjoy certain rights that many colored communities north of the Mason and Dixon line do not enjoy, and it would be calamitous for the colored voters, through any negligence on their part to allow their opportunities for civic advancement to be menaced by helping to elect the wrong men for public office.

Confidence of Intelligent Element.

The intelligent element of the colored people in this city have confidence in the sense of justice and the consideration shown them by the same element of white people. They appreciate equal educational advantages. They appreciate the growing sentiment among white citizens which says that colored taxpayers deserve representation in the administration of the affairs of this city.

It has been said by the white people themselves that Dr. S. A. Furniss, colored city councilman, received almost equal support from white and colored voters. The colored voters are no longer being "rewarded" with a few menial positions, but they are being recognized for their ability and especially during the present city administration they have received in a large measure the respect and consideration due good citizens of any race. The colored people feel that as they continue to prove themselves worthy they will receive more consideration.

So at this time especially, they can not afford to take a backward step by scattering their support, thus allowing inexperienced men to seize places of honor which they do not deserve and places which they can not intelligently fill. This is no time for experiment and foolishness, and all the people should take the situation with the seriousness that it rightly deserves, and more especially the colored people who have the most to lose.

It would be folly in the extreme for the colored people to attempt to send a man to the congress, simply on the ground that he was thinking of introducing an anti-lynching measure, rather than to keep a man there who has already introduced such a measure and who undoubtedly has sufficient following and strength to get it through. It seems wise even in these days to hold to the "bird in the hand" rather than hope for two far away in the bush.

Willing to Forget.

It should not be true in this glorious free country that statesmen should be compelled, as it were, to stop and enact legislation for the protection of its citizens, while the best blood of those citizens is being shed to protect and defend the safety and liberty of the weaker nations across the sea. But candidly and soberly, the colored people are willing to forget any injustices which they have been forced to suffer in order that all the people in this and other countries may be safe from oppression. The colored people say this again, that at this crisis, the race problem, aggravating as it is, is not the biggest question that challenges the statesmanship of this nation. It's going to be solved in God's own time. Meanwhile let the colored citizens follow Mr. Caton's advice and that of in-

HARLEM VOTER TOLD TO VOTE FOR FREEDOM

ERVIN, SEHL, CLAESSENS AND PANKEN URGE SOCIALIST SUPPORT TO INSURE LIBERTY.

N. Y. C. CALL

Two candidates for municipal court judge and an assemblyman presented the claims of Socialism to a Harlem audience yesterday afternoon at the New Star casino, 107th street and Park avenue.

Charles W. Ervin, candidate for governor of New York state, Charles Sehl, candidate for governor of Pennsylvania; Judge Jacob Panken and Assemblyman August Claessens were the speakers.

Ordinarily, Claessens can do anything he pleases with a Star casino audience, but yesterday they got away from him. He tried to make them stop taking up a collection for Max Lillienstein, who runs a small candy and soda shop at 18 East 110th street. They would not be stopped, however, but, as they walked up the aisle last Sunday with dollar bills when Scott Nearing suggested it, they did the same thing yesterday, while Claessens tried to make them stop.

Claessens had told how Lillienstein had been persecuted by some old-party politicians for putting up a huge sign in front of his store, that almost covered it up. When the sign went up, a politician of the district called on Lillienstein and told him to take it down.

Lillienstein told him to guess again. The politician said that if that sign did not come down there would be trouble ahead for the candy man.

The shopkeeper told him to go ahead with his trouble, but the sign would stay up.

Trouble Came.

Trouble came in the form of an inspector from the board of health, who asked Lillienstein if he used hot water in washing his soda glasses. The proprietor replied that he did not; that he had no hot water in his small shop, but that he did use certain cleansing chemicals in his dishwashing that had been approved by former inspectors. He said that an inspector had called on him only a few days before and said his method was satisfactory. But this inspector, instead of giving him an "O. K.," gave him a summons to court. Lillienstein went, ex-

pecting that his fine would be something like \$5 or \$6, which has been the custom in hearings of this kind. Instead of that, the fine was \$25. The next day the politician appeared again and said:

"Well, is the sign going down now?"

And again Lillienstein said "No." "Then there will be more trouble," said the politician.

This was as far as Claessens could go with the story. He said that he planned to hold an open-air meeting on that block and take up a collection for the candy man.

The Dollars Came.

"Do it now!" yelled the crowd, and the dollars began to come up to the platform, though Claessens told them they had better wait. There was \$25 inside of two minutes, and the stream of dollars had to be choked off.

A committee of five volunteered to deliver the money immediately. They came back with the report that the man wouldn't take it to replace the lost \$25, but would save it for the next fine, if there should be one.

After the meeting, Lillienstein's place was raided by a friendly crowd who lined his counter and blocked the sidewalk and waited patiently for their turn at the soda glasses.

After yesterday afternoon's Star casino meeting had dispersed, the part of the crowd that didn't go to Lillienstein's shop or onto the street to sell buttons, went up to Madison avenue and 135th street, where a rally was held by the Negro voters of the 19th Assembly district.

Panken and Ervin went up there to speak. Besides these speakers A. Philip Randolph, candidate for the Assembly in the 19th district; Chandler Owen, candidate for Congress in the 21st district; Dr. Miller, candidate for the Assembly in the 21st district, and Mrs. Marie MacDonald addressed the meeting.

Speaking to the Negro voters, Ervin said:

Question of Human Race.

"The question of this campaign is not the question of the white or black race. It is the question of the human race, the freedom of all mankind. So far as the black race in America is concerned, the Republican party has patronized you; the Democratic party has abused you; both parties have betrayed you. The only issue in this campaign is freedom, industrial as well as political freedom for every man and woman."

At the New Star casino meeting Judge Panken, referring to the letter of President Wilson asking the voters of the country to support Democratic candidates, paid his respects to Postmaster General Burleson, Secretary McAdoo and the department of justice for the autocratic methods they have employed. He referred to the news from Germany that a new law there will give the Reichstag power to select the members of the cabinet and make these cabinet members responsible to the Reichstag. He said that, if Morris Hillquit is elected to Congress, he will introduce a similar amendment to the American constitution.

Ervin took up a letter sent by Congressman Siegel to the voters of the 20th district, warning them not to be misled by the fact that he was sure of reelection, and so put no mark in the blank set off for the vote for congressman, "as it would leave this space blank."

Ervin said that Siegel's record in Congress always had been a blank. "Where was Siegel," he asked, "during the long years of the struggle for woman suffrage? He is not on record as ever having struggled to help you win your rights. But Morris Hillquit has been working for 20 years for the legal enfranchisement of women."

"Down with Kaiserism."

"The other day there came to my desk," said Ervin, "a copy of the cablegram from Germany, containing Liebknecht's message to the German people, 'Down with Kaiserism! The Day of the People Has Come!' Let us send back to Germany the answer by electing Morris Hillquit to Congress, that the American people are ready to say 'Down with kaiserism all over the world. The day of the people has come.'"

Sehl said:

"It is not necessary for me to know the candidates who are running against Morris Hillquit. I know they belong to the machine financed by the capitalist class of this state. They are not going to finance any organization that will benefit the working class."

Claessens said the good news of the campaign in the 20th district was doing Hillquit more good than the mountain air and all the medicines and doctors' care.

"And we will send him a telegram the morning after election," said Claessens, "that will be a better prescription than any of the doctors and druggists could make for him. It will be a message telling him he is the congressman from this district."

NEW ERA FLAYS D. R. T. PRACTICES

N. Y. C. CALL
OCTOBER 26, 1918
An instance of the inequality of economic opportunity practised against the Negro is pointed out by the New Era, Negro Socialist newspaper, referring to the Negro women porters on the Interborough. The New Era says:

"In New York city the subway and the elevated lines employ Negro women as porters—they are required to clean the toilets. This work is bad enough for a man. It is humiliating and debasing to women. The Negro woman porter is allowed to chop tickets only when the white woman ticket chopper goes to lunch."

"Now, the subway is owned by Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont and Shonts—they are the big stock owners. They are the largest contributors to the Tammany Hall campaign funds in New York city. He who pays the fiddler calls the tune. So that when the overworked and underpaid workers strike, Belmont, Shonts and Ryan call upon Tammany Hall to set the police bilbies to breaking heads. Tammany Hall makes it possible for black woman labor to be exploited. If the city owned the subway, black women could become ticket choppers, clerks, and Negro men could become conductors and motormen through civil service examination."

"The Socialist party demands this. Are you opposed to it, Mr. Negro Voter?"

Two Leading Candidates For United States Senator

A Brief But Accurate Statement of Their Public Political Career

William Hale Thompson
Hon. William Hale Thompson, present mayor of Chicago, serving his first term as such, and is now in the fourth year of his term. Mr. Thompson has been in politics for a number of years, but never was in position before to do large things. One of his first official acts on being elected mayor was the appointment of ex-Commissioner Edward H. Wright to the position of assistant corporation counsel, carrying with it a salary of \$5,000 a year; Louis B. Anderson, now alderman of the Second ward, to a position of assistant corporation counsel at \$3,000 a year; Dr. A. J. Carey, pastor of Institutional church, to a position as investigator in the corporation counsel's office at a salary of \$2,250 per annum, and numerous other minor positions ranging from \$900 to \$1,500 per annum. His attitude on public questions affecting our group and their rights admits of neither question nor explanation; they are as clear as the noonday's sun. He stands for democracy for all races.

Medill McCormick
Hon. Medill McCormick, congressman-at-large, has had a limited career in politics. He is a member of the Chicago Tribune family and his first activity politically was during the Merriam candidacy for mayor, after which time he was elected a member of the Illinois legislature, serving one term. His term of office happened to be during the time that the effort was being made to secure the fiftieth anniversary celebration, or, in other words, the half-century celebration of Negro freedom. Mr. McCormick exerted his influence to aid in the securing of the \$50,000 given by the legislature of Illinois for the occasion. His activities were sincere and genuine. He is connected with the Chicago Tribune, a paper whose attitude at times appears to be directly opposed to the best interests of our group, in that our virtues are obscured and our vices glaringly exposed. Probably the fact that Mr. McCormick has turned his attention to politics, if he succeeds, may cause him to view us and our struggle through different optics. This is all that can be said of Mr. McCormick.

COLORADO CLUBMEN ENDORSE GOV. EDGE

TRENTON N. J. GAZETTE
MAY 27, 1918
There was a conference of the colored delegates attending the state convention of Republican clubs in the assembly chamber, state house, Saturday afternoon over which Isaac H. Nutter, of Atlantic City, presided. The alleged discrimination practiced upon colored soldiers by the Y. M. C. A. in France was taken up and a committee appointed to present the facts to the secretary of war and ask redress.

Office Holding Indiana Republicans in Love Feast; Col. Simmons the Orator

Special to the Defender

Indianapolis, Ind., March 29.—Gov. James P. Goodrich, Indiana's pride, was in the midst of a stirring period when Roscoe Conkling Simmons walked down the aisle of the Pythian Auditorium Tuesday night. The governor stopped.

"My time is up," he said. "Whenever Roscoe Simmons appears every orator's time is up." And bending from the platform the governor of Indiana grasped the hand of the idol of his people and the throng cheered.

The occasion that brought the orator to the city was a Republican love feast. The hall was packed, every foot of it, and the streets below were crowded with a multitude that wanted to hear him. There was no color line in the meeting, although Race Republicans arranged the affair.

Every big white Republican in this section was present, and they tried to outdo the Race in honoring its spokesman. And if they never heard from the New Man in the Race they "got told" that night.

"I am a Republican," said the orator, "have always been, and will always be. Mine is the party that opened again the mouth of Liberty and bade her speak freely the good news of freedom. Mine is the party that shot the props from under the auction block and made the slave driver cry 'Mercy.' But I do not claim that my party has been as vigilant for my Race as it should have been, nor as it will be if again it is to control the destiny of my government. I speak calmly."

During the address of Col. Simmons that lasted two hours and that had the people as often on their feet as they were in their seats, the governor of Indiana and Mayor Jewett sat by his side, cheering almost every utterance, and high officials of city and state, judges and law officers, sat in the audience spellbound by his masterly plea for his people.

How to Forget

"In a time like this, when war beckons all to the field, there to make the grand contest," said Col. Simmons, "we must forget all things. Truly we must. The teacher must forget his opinion, but not his rule. The preacher must forget his creed, but not his religion, and we must forget politics, but not our party."

That brought down the house, Gov. Goodrich being the first to come down. Everybody knows Col. Simmons to be the original Roosevelt man.

"We will stand by the President as long as he is there," he said; "stand by him and his crowd with men and money. That will teach them loyalty. In 1920 we will accept the commission of the American people to operate the government and teach them the power of mind over matter."

Standing Among Rulers

"Note," said Col. Simmons, "note that once my ancestors felt the pain of iron and wore the brand of bond-

age, and see that tonight I stand among judges, governors and rulers, speaking up for my country and my people. That is the simple story of my party."

Turning to Gov. Goodrich, the orator made a plea for recognition of Race Republicans. "When you come into your kingdom, governor," he said, "when you get there and sit around the council board, do remember that I stood on the field fighting to gain for you the crown." Col. Simmons denounced the lily-whites. "I denounce them and their black agents, in Indiana or Mississippi."

Mayor Jewett, delivering a response, said that Col. Simmons' was the greatest speech ever heard in Indiana. "This with a multitude that wanted to hear him," said the mayor, "is on a divine mission, and the world will hear him."

Dr. Sumner A. Furniss, leader of Race Republicans, presided, and as usual elicited affectionate demonstration from his host of followers. He was presented by James N. Shelton, Henry Fleming, the organizer, was chairman of the committee.

Not only the speech of Colonel Simmons, but the arrangement and personnel of the gathering make it memorable in the story of Indiana affairs.

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION CONVENES

Promptly at noon on Independence Day the Republican State Convention was called to order by the State Chairman. The convention was one of the best and most harmonious in the history of the party. Delegates came from all parts of the state on their own expenses, there being no emoluments to the men who journeyed from their homes three hundred strong. Practically every county in the state was represented. There were no dissensions and strife of any kind. The party presented a solid front, pledging support to the President of the United States in his struggle for the liberty of the world, and pledging eternal faith to the principles of the Republican Party as enunciated and practiced by Lincoln, Grant, McKinley and Roosevelt.

Hon. B. J. Davis, of Fulton county, was elected temporary chairman and Colonel C. P. Goree, of Fulton county, was elected permanent chairman. Prof. J. C. Styles and L. R. Lautier were elected temporary and permanent secretary and official stenographer respectively. Strong resolutions were passed, expressive of the wishes of the people. Few changes were made in the 1916 organization. The most prominent change was the election of Mr.

Harry H. Pace, of Fulton county, to succeed Prof. J. C. Styles as state secretary, and Rev. J. T. Johnson, of Athens, was elected treasurer to succeed M. B. Morton. Col. C. P. Goree was elected vice-chairman to succeed Hon. John M. Barnes, of Thomson. The following organization was perfected for the next two years as the state central committee of the Republican party of Georgia:

Henry S. Jackson, Ex-Officio Member.

Roscoe Pickett, Chairman, Jasper. C. P. Goree, Vice-Chairman, Atlanta. Harry H. Pace, Secretary, Atlanta. W. S. Scott, Assistant Secretary, Savannah. J. T. Johnson, Treasurer, Atlanta. State at Large.

B. J. Davis, Atlanta. J. S. L. Morrow, Bethlehem. Chas. J. Moore, Atlanta. Dr. C. T. Walker, Augusta. J. H. Watson, Albany. C. R. Jones, Rossville. B. W. S. Daniels, Savannah. W. H. Harris, Athens. Wm. Long, Douglasville. J. W. Davison, Scottdale. J. H. Surber, Atlanta. Dr. R. C. Williams, Augusta. J. T. Wilkerson, Dalton. F. J. Allen, East Point. Jackson McHenry, Atlanta. Alfred Mack, Macon. John W. Martin, Atlanta. W. F. Penn, South Atlanta. H. T. Warner, McDonough. J. C. Styles, Dawson. M. B. Morton, Athens. H. L. Johnson, Atlanta. Dr. B. M. Sherard, Griffin. Wm. James, Statesboro. H. D. Bush, Covington. R. R. Wright, Savannah. Dr. E. J. Turner, Columbus. H. W. Russell, Atlanta. T. W. Wheat, Newnan.

First District.

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Edward D. Greene for the legislature in the First Senatorial district.

Means Political Destruction
The right to seek office is denied no man who himself exercises the right of suffrage, but the right to exercise an unwholesome influence on the people, which would in turn destroy the very thing for which they are fighting, robs the office seeker of the confidence and respect of the people. He seeks to serve and is a flagrant violation of both honor and honesty.

This attitude assumed by those who sponsored the "be a man and vote for your own" proposition should be and will receive a sweeping rebuke by the people in the primaries on Sept. 11. It is there that the people should make known once for all that they will not be robbed of their suffrage by such advice, which in the end will prove that they are turning to their own lips the poison chalice of their own political destruction.

The time has not come in this country when our influence and strength has reached the point where we can assume an attitude, whether political or otherwise, on great public questions apart and distinct from other races. If you believe in fair play and justice you are forced to consider the advice of "be a man and vote for your own" as a dangerous precedent to be established and will serve if lived up to to destroy your political future in this country.

BLACK DEMOCRAT BEAT HIM, SAYS ASSEM. JOHNSON

The New York Times
First Colored New York Legislator Sends "Address to the Voters of 19th Assembly Dist. Who Gave Me Their Support in the Recent Election"

11/17/18
"First let me heartily thank all those who voted and worked for me in the last election. Although the result is not what we would like, there is still compensation in the fact that we believe we did our duty to the party and the candidates and their defeat is no fault of ours. If the democrats were able to persuade more of the voting population of the district to support their side, they were better at the game, or those persuaded may have been more susceptible to error from our viewpoint than we thought. Those who voted for money considerations, if any, have their own baseness to answer for to their inner consciences. The upright Democrat who voted with his party may be pitted for being a Democrat, but we cannot accuse him of engaging in the fight for the mere purpose of preventing some one else from winning. His is not the you-shan't-if-I-can't atti-

ade. The candidate who has good reasons to know he cannot be elected, but simply runs to beat some one else has political malice in his heart. Any person has a right to be a candidate but when our party nominates a Colored man on its ticket, it looks very inexpedient that any other person should run against him when such an act will certainly result in the defeat of the Colored candidate. Our race chances are none too good when we are united much less when divided.

"We think the socialist exercised poor judgment in running a candidate in the last election for Assembly. They certainly knew they could not win and that their running might help defeat the Colored candidate. Their running gave help and encouragement to the Democrats.

"The election shows that the Colored people voted quite solidly for their own representative on the ticket as well as the other Republican candidates. I received the almost solid support of the fourteen Colored election districts above 130th street. I feel proud of the fact that the Colored voters showed their appreciation of the work that I tried to do in the last Legislature. They came out and voted early and carefully—very few ballots being defective. My defeat is not their fault but the fault of the white voters in the lower end of the district, who seemed bent on getting rid of the "nigger."

Votes cast for Johnson and his socialist and democratic opponents in the fourteen Colored districts above 130th street, in the Nineteenth Assembly District:

Total vote, 3454, in fourteen Colored Districts.

Total vote in all the election districts of the 19th Assembly District.

Healy, Democrat, 6990
Johnson, Republican, 6598

Majority for Healy, 397
There were slackers and non-voters in the fourteen Colored districts who could have voted and did not.

The Colored Democrat, as shown above, made a very poor showing with all their noise and the men and women they hired. Yet the Democratic vote in the Colored districts (533) would have elected me. The Socialists were scarcely in it at all. Their vote is so small that it shows that the Colored people are not led by them to any degree worth considering.

The figures show that I carried every Colored election district in the 19th Assembly District almost solidly; while on the other hand I lost every white election district but one (the 17th), which I carried by two majority only. There are thirty-five publican Association has launched a white election districts in the 19th Assembly District running from 130th street down to 118th street, between 7th and Madison avenues, and from St. Nicholas, Manhattan and 8th avenues. There is but one conclusion to draw from this election and that is that the Legislature must give the Colored people a district of their own.

MORE

in this section, so that they will not need the white vote to elect the Assemblyman. The 21st Assembly District is sufficiently colored to insure a Colored man's election, but ours, the 19th, is composed of too many whites to risk a Colored man on the ticket. The trick was put over last year before the white women became voters, but now they have become voters the last campaign, and uncouth to be shown below 130th the result thereof shows that many have also become Negro haters as well as voters. It was the women who fought me the hardest and circulated the report that I was a "common nigger" as they said, too ignorant and street and they won on this issue.

It is due the Colored people who vote in both of the majority parties that they should have some representation. If the conditions are such that the white women in the majority parties will not support a Colored candidate, then the Colored people should be given a district in which they live and control by their own votes.

So far as the Republican Party is concerned, we give them our votes of this city stole to the right and left, freely, we draw no line of the white using both Race and white repeaters candidates. They got our full support and we must have some consideration for this. Governor Whitman carried almost the full party vote, Colored, and Governor-elect Smith carried the full Colored Democratic vote. No objection was made that either of them were white men; and I have heard no white candidate opposed simply because he is white, and if white people in the 19th Assembly District will not vote for a Colored man simply because he is Colored, then we demand that the district be rearranged to meet this condition. It's a poor rule that won't work both ways. If the whites will draw the color line then we can draw it also two hours that the orator preached the Republican party, Race hope and Americanism. Perhaps Roscoe never delivered a grander speech.

Hueston's opponent, Scannell, Democrat, is said to have remarked that his election cost his organization \$5,000, and that if he had known the kind of scandal he had to go into he would never have consented to run.

Whites Loyal
Hueston is the lion of the hour. Two of the three white precincts in his ward voted for him. The Race was loyal almost to a man, except the unprincipled black Democrats, who made common cause with the theft that robbed the Race of representation in the city council.

The Democrats gave a banquet Monday night. Every one of the thirteen of them is a candidate for some office, but it is likely that the "rabbits" and the "goats" will fall out among themselves, just as the white animals of Democratic persuasion have done.

Tom Marx, leader of Jackson county, is reported as saying that he may institute proceedings in behalf of Hueston, who was nominated by the regular Republican organization.

The vote was, Hueston, Republican, 1,199; Scannell, Democrat, 1,282.

32nd District.....	218	27th St.	41	7
33rd District.....	165	136th St.	52	12
34th District.....	162	135th St.	23	15
35th District.....	216	134th St.	17	9
36th District.....	236	133rd and 134th Sts.....	10	26
37th District.....	201	132nd St.	30	30
38th District.....	89	135th, bet. Lenox and 5th....	15	15
39th District.....	215	131st, bet. Lenox and 7th....	16	16
40th District.....	203	132d, bet. Lenox and 5th....	27	27
41st District.....	245	131st, bet. Lenox and 5th....	18	18
42nd District.....	259	131st, bet. Lenox and 5th....	96	96
43rd District.....	165	East of 5th Av.....	73	15
44th District.....	139	East of 5th Av.....	88	9
45th District.....	95			

2598

HUESTON BEATEN FOR ALDERMAN IN KANSAS CITY BY DEMOCRAT; KNOX A TRAITOR NEGRO OUT OF LEGISLATURE

The Chicago Defender
Special to the Defender
Kansas City, Mo., April 12.—Despite the fact that the Democratic machine using both Race and white repeaters for the dirty work, and despite the independent candidacy of Knox, said to have been put up by the Democrats, William Clarence Hueston, brilliant lawyer and political leader, was defeated for alderman in the "black eighth" by only 83 votes. It was the finest political battle ever staged in these parts. Hueston led his hosts with fine tact.

Simmons Speaks
As a master stroke Roscoe Conkling Simmons, Race spokesman, canceled important speaking engagements and came to the scene. At the Michigan street armory Monday night the noted speaker spoke to the largest political meeting ever held here. More than a thousand people stood up during the two hours that the orator preached the Republican party, Race hope and Americanism. Perhaps Roscoe never delivered a grander speech.

Hueston's opponent, Scannell, Democrat, is said to have remarked that his election cost his organization \$5,000, and that if he had known the kind of scandal he had to go into he would never have consented to run.

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600 VOTES KEEP

Official Count Relieves Capital of Duty of Warmly Receiving W. M. Riley.

WHOLE STATE IS STIRRED

Complete Vote Tabulation in the State Is Expected by Saturday.

ST LOUIS MO REPUBLICAN
NOVEMBER 13, 1918

William M. Riley, negro candidate for the Legislature on the Republican ticket in the Fourth District, was defeated by about 600 votes, the official count of ballots last night by the Board of Election Commissioners showed. His teammates on the Republican ticket were elected by about 1,100 plurality.

James T. O'Brien (Dem.) was elected over Riley because of the active scratching of Riley by white voters in the district. Riley was nominated at the August primary by the Republican machine, and it was not revealed that he is a negro until a few days before the election, November 5. Indignation meetings of white voters resulted in opposition which defeated the negro.

Unofficial returns tabulated by Republicans on the night of the election seemed to show that Riley had been elected. This announcement, the first in the history of Missouri, created resentment in Jefferson City, and a warm reception for Riley had been prepared.

Result of Official Count.
The official count of ballots completed for the Third and Fourth Legislative districts, and for Justices of the Peace and Constable, gave the following results:

Third Legislative District — Emory W. Chase (Dem.), 5,181; John P. Connor (Dem.), 5,287; John J. Moroney (Dem.), 5,176; Charles P. Comer (Rep.), 5,510; Julius A. Razovsky (Rep.), 5,399; Hugh K. Wagner (Rep.), 5,516.

Fourth Legislative District — Edward J. Hogan (Dem.), 8,524; Thomas J. McNamara (Dem.), 8,522; James T. O'Brien (Dem.), 8,621; Frank O. Bittner (Rep.), 8,845; Edward G. Davidson (Rep.), 9,779; William M. Riley (Rep.), 8,284.

Justice of the Peace:
First District—John E. Gaskill (Dem.), 6,245; H. J. Pfeiffer (Rep.), 14,421.

Second District — William Kaiser (Dem.), 3,336; Henry Pfeifle (Rep.), 5,342.

Third District — Edward E. Rice (Dem.), 3,974; R. E. Moore, (Rep.), 2,766.

Fourth District (two to be elected)—Frank J. Costello (Dem.), 1,821; A. A. Lancaster (Dem.), 1,804; Harry McChesney (Rep.), 3,718; Joseph L. Schuler (Rep.), 3,364; Homer G. Phillips (Ind.), 664.

Fifth District — Andrew Gazzolo (Dem.), 2,064; Charles S. Thompson (Dem.), 2,990; William J. Blesse (Rep.), 3,063; Gabriel Roth (Rep.), 3,016.

Sixth District—James P. Miles (Dem.), 3,376 (no opposition).

Seventh District — James A. Kieley (Dem.), 3,990; F. W. Beckmann (Rep.), 6,014.

Eighth District — Andrew Scully (Dem.), 12,114; George Grassmuck (Rep.), 14,894.

Ninth District—T. A. Giesel (Dem.), 11,225; W. D. Moore (Rep.), 14,868.

Constables:
First District—W. F. Rogge (Dem.), 6,253; John Eyerman (Rep.), 14,500.

Second District—W. H. Flowers (Dem.), 3,221; William Dutzi (Rep.), 5,470.

Third District—J. E. Clooney (Dem.), 3,342; John W. Shine (Rep.), 4,346.

Fourth District (two to be elected)—H. W. O'Brien (Dem.), 2,053; P. A. O'Donnell (Dem.), 2,308; F. E. Bush (Rep.), 3,885; C. H. Turpin (Rep.), 3,202.

Fifth District (two to be elected)—W. T. Egan (Dem.), 3,069; James J. Tracy (Dem.), 2,901; O. A. Armstrong (Rep.), 2,992; P. A. Austin (Rep.), 3,080.

Sixth District—John F. Byrne (Dem.), 3,401. (No opposition.)

Seventh District—G. O. Rittenhouse (Dem.), 4,052; Henry Landwehr (Rep.), 5,921.

Eighth District—E. P. O'Neil (Dem.), 11,857; E. W. Klorer (Rep.), 15,247.

Ninth District—J. C. Repetto (Dem.), 11,248; W. C. Metz (Rep.), 14,889.

Election clerks, under supervision of the Election Board, are counting the ballots in the remaining legislative districts and for State Senator, but the count for these offices had not been completed last night. The tabulation for other city and State offices will follow, and the entire count will be finished about Saturday.

WHEN THE TEST COMES

There are many colored voters in New Jersey who will agree with Senator Pilgrim that "It would be good citizenship and good politics" to nominate a negro for the Assembly this year. There will be no difficulty in finding plenty of candidates, and Essex, Atlantic, Camden, Salem and Mercer Counties will probably be willing to supply them. The real test will come on election day, when an attempt is made to abolish the color line.

TRENTON N. J. TIMES
APRIL 27, 1918

Political - 1918

Office Holding

Taxicab Row Straightened Out by Second Ward Alderman

Not long since a number of Race persons were injured and slugged at Thirty-fifth and State streets and a serious race riot was narrowly averted with its toll of suffering and death.

An organized band of taxi chauffeurs in the employ of the Yellow Cab Co. sought by intimidation, force and violence to monopolize the taxi business streets.

John Williams, owner of two taxis, to drive the Race taxis from the trade when seen by a Defender reporter, and streets. These Yellow Cab slugs said: "Aldermen Anderson and Jack-son and Capt. Mullin are entitled to high praise from the white and Race people of the Second ward and the at this point, resorted to violence finally, injuring several persons, and came near killing one Race man with a hammer. Eight of these Yellow Cab chauffeurs were arrested for precipitating the trouble at Thirty-fifth and State streets and their cases are now pending in court. In the meantime the attempt of these Yellow taxi chauffeurs to force the Race taxis from the Thirty-fifth street trade, even after the race riot the other day, was fraught with the greatest danger to the peace and safety of the Race people of the Second ward and the Thirty-fifth street district. The taxis charge 10 cents for transportation from Thirty-fifth and State streets to the White Sox park and the large crowds which attend the games make this Thirty-fifth street corner one of the most in-viting centers in the taxi business.

By rough and brutal methods of fear and violence, the white chauffeurs will make Roscoe nervous. Here's what not permit the Race chauffeurs to ply their trade and to park their machines in other centers of the taxi business. Led by the Yellow Cab chauffeurs, an organized effort was planned and put in execution, to compel the Race chauffeurs to retire from the only point within the heart of the Race population where they might pursue their business with profit and safety. The Yellow Cab chauffeurs had resorted to violence, had been arrested for slugging members of the Race at Thirty-fifth street, and had returned armed with renewed determination to eliminate Race chauffeurs from their last and only safe stand, and the Race about Thirty-fifth street was considering whether this outrage was to succeed or be blotted out and destroyed when Aldermen Anderson and Jackson took the situation in hand.

Realizing the danger in a threatening race riot, Alderman Anderson conferred with Capt. Joseph Mullin of the Third police precinct at Twenty-sixth and Cottage Grove avenue, with the result that the captain, with a detail of eight officers, accompanied by Alderman Anderson, appeared at Thirty-fifth and State streets to see that no discrimination was practiced against the Race chauffeurs and that no violence was invoked to prevent them from pursuing their business in security.

As a result of the prompt and decisive action of these two aldermen and Capt. Mullin (white), a normal situation was restored in the taxi trade at Thirty-fifth and State streets and a fearful and destructive race riot was averted.

Phil Brown, the editor, tells a few things about the meeting of the Republican National Committee at St. Louis, and incidentally pays his respects to Roscoe C. Simmons in a way likely to make Roscoe nervous. Here's what Brown says, editorially:

Toward the polished, plausible and never phlegmatic Roscoe Conkling Simmons, the Saturday News enters its protest. His predisposed flights to the dizzy realms of super-ego have never lessened our love for him. We have been charmed when he sets "the morning star to singing the tune of broken tears," and have been amused when he induced the evening star to strut with a feather. We have wept along with the multitude when his lachrymose rhetoric bade us weep; we have laughed fit to kill ourselves at his skillful thrusts and foils of wit. We love him, not because he first loved us, but nevertheless.

When he hypnotized the conservative Courier-Journal into catapulting him into fame and fortune, we applauded with enthusiasm from the mundane sphere upon which he left us, and as he rose higher and higher in spite of himself we congratulated him that his congregations never

broke up, that wonders never ceased and bubbles never burst.

That he should wallow in publicity like a Berkshire might in a mud puddle is most natural. Publicity breathed the breath of life into Roscoe's career and is consequently the oxygen of his existence. We do not quite agree with the effulgent, effusive and effervescent effluence that he writes about himself. Roscoe proceeds upon Josh Billings' philosophy that "him that tooteth not his own horn, the same will not be tooted." However, we are now coming to the text of this article.

II. A representative of the Saturday News was present at the meeting last week of the Republican National Committee in St. Louis. This representative has a fair vision and his opportunities for observation were as good as those of Col. Roscoe Conkling Simmons or any other Negro in the United States. We were present when the case of Perry W. Howard in contest for a seat in the Committee was called and we heard the evidence. We heard Col. Roscoe Conkling when he wound up his stars and set them to "singing to the tune of broken tears." We must insist that we did not find the facts as Roscoe laboriously indited them and mailed them to a Chicago paper with a view to glorifying himself. It would be needless to go over a mass of documentary stuff in support of Roscoe's disposition to do this.

As we have said before, we are perfectly willing that Roscoe should spring as much publicity as he is able to buy. We are as willing, since it is his space, that he write whatsoever he may see fit in reference to himself, and it is a matter of trifling moment to us, and less to him, whether it is the truth or not; but when he essays from the fool's paradise in which he is strutting his brief, uneasy hour of success, to class our friend Alvin T. Hert with the enemies of the Negro race, the Saturday News will call his hand, and call it at once. Of all the Committeemen who met at St. Louis few if any of them were the peer of other States who were interested in Mr. Hert in his friendliness to the colored people. Simmons knows this because he has benefited by this friendship, and for him to adopt this petty, cowardly means of attacking an injustice with a cry of lily-white race's best friend seems to indicate that Roscoe is developing a newly elected National Committeeman mania. It was well known that he from Mississippi, he was entitled to had no compunction about romancing the place, but this no less applies to to glorify himself, but we have never

known him before to use that means to defame a friend.

III. We have never known two injustices to make anything right. The Saturday News has prospered by being as just to the white man as it has ever been to the Negro. We have never gone off half-cocked upon any proposition. Whenever we grope, we are in search of the truth. We want to be right and avoid as nearly as possible being wrong. We are not the Negro right or wrong. We want him to be right. We complain because a majority of white people will always side with a white man when a question arises between him and one of our color; still certain colored newspapers, without making any investigation whatsoever as to the evidence, would have the entire Negro race do identically what they condemn the white people for doing. Because the white people do wrong is no reason why the Negroes should do wrong. The best preparedness to receive justice is to be just yourself.

We listened to the Howard-Mulvihill case, and while it resembled most political contests that emerge from the State of Mississippi to be aired in the National Committee for the ways that are dark and tricks that are vain, we were unable to see any evidence of the "lily-whiteism" that Roscoe wrote about to the papers. Mr. Howard presented his case like an able lawyer. Mr. Mulvihill did the same; but as Mississippi Republican politics is usually a greater factor before the Committee than it is at home, it was left for the Committee to pay its money and take its choice. We feel frank in saying that any difference between the contestants were as the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. If the question of color counted for anything, we counted at least four prominent colored men from Mississippi who were there in the interest of Mulvihill, while Howard was alone, unless the ubiquitous Roscoe should be a resident of Mississippi.

Some of the colored men from Mississippi who were interested in the seating of Mr. Howard were emphatic in saying that Mulvihill had the best case. We are not in favor of camouflage, cowardly means of attacking an injustice with a cry of lily-whiteism. If Mr. Howard was prop- cate that Roscoe is developing a newly elected National Committeeman mania. It was well known that he from Mississippi, he was entitled to had no compunction about romancing the place, but this no less applies to to glorify himself, but we have never

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more to immunities on account of his color than Mulvihill was on account of his.

The Saturday News is prepared to fight to the last ditch and side by side or under the leadership of Roscoe or anybody else for righting the wrongs of the Negro race, but we do not propose to fight for wronging the rights. At any event, we positively insist upon being acquainted with the facts and will always be recalcitrant in attacking a man simply because he is white.

Withal, we warn the effulgent Roscoe that if he would have us reach the goal by fighting prejudice with prejudice that he is barking up a tree the fruit of which is racial disaster.

POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE COLORED PEOPLE

DESIRE TO PLACE GOOD MEN IN
OFFICE.

ARE FOR MERRILL MOORES

ANNAPOLIS (IND) NEWS

MAY 2, 1918

According to a statement made in The News a few days ago, a certain politician said that he would deliver the majority of the colored vote in this city at the primary election Tuesday. It is not the purpose of this article to deny this assertion because it is too openly false to call for denial. This "old school" politician forgot to take into account the fact that he is not dealing with the "old school" negro. There may have been a time when misguided colored men permitted themselves to be led on by those who would serve their own selfish ends and who had not the interest and welfare of the colored people at heart, but that day is past.

It seems strange than any person with ordinary political insight should not see that the great majority of the colored people are awake to the political situation in this city. That 98 per cent. of the colored voters supported Mr. Jewett last November should be sufficient evidence in itself that the colored voters were thinking for themselves.

Primary Is Important.

Enthusiasm in the coming primary has been noticeably lacking. It is possible that the wrong men are going to be nominated for important position as a result of this lack in interest that is generally felt. This one thing the colored people should take into account: The colored people will suffer most from any blunders in the present primary. There never has been a time when all voters should be more careful than now as to the kind of men they select for public office. The time certainly calls for men of broad experience, unswerving courage and a high sense of devotion to public service, men who can subordinate partisanship and selfish interests to the best interests of the nation.

It has been contended too that an appreciable per cent. of the colored voters are going to support Lew Shank for the congress, which statement would be ridiculous if it were not serious as far as the colored citizens are concerned. It is

being said that the Home Ruler is making a "word fight" against lynching and other injustices to the colored people. To this the colored people apply the old adage, "Actions speak louder than words." Statistics show that more than 90 per cent. of the lynchings in this country occur in the south and among the colored people, and although it may be that distance lends charm, it could hardly be supposed that a public servant who ran away at the first sign of danger and refused to protect the lives of men, women and children in this city, when he held a high public office, could be trusted to work very enthusiastically to protect the lives of black men and women from lawlessness a thousand miles away.

There is absolutely no doubt that the colored people are going to support Merrill Moores for congress. A number of colored leaders have spoken in the interest of Mr. Moores at a large number of political meetings and everywhere they say their audiences have been practically solid for Moores. R. L. Brokenburr, colored attorney, who has given considerable time to the campaign, says that the colored people are practically unanimous for Moores. "Mr. Moores," he said, "has demonstrated beyond doubt his patriotism in remaining at his post of duty, rather than giving up for a time to come here and work for his own interests, and this is the type of men the nation is calling for today. Mr. Moores is running on his past record, and it is hardly possible that persons interested enough to go to the polls to cast their ballot will fail to give his re-election careful consideration."

The Shank Rally.

When asked about the Shank rally in Indiana avenue and about the colored vote that is being claimed for Mr. Shank he said that the colored voters were not taking Mr. Shank seriously and that they were no more interested in his election at this time than they were at the November election, which showed less than 2 per cent. in his favor.

Mr. Moores has introduced an anti-lynching measure that is intended to benefit not only the colored race, but all races.

If the anti-lynching bill had never been framed, its originator would deserve their support because he is sound on the war measures and the best interest of this nation, which at present is the most important business of all races in this country. The race question is not the biggest thing in the minds of the colored people of this state at this time. They are just as much interested in winning the war as any other people. They are interested in their loved ones at the front and have sacrificed as far as they been able to the end that the institutions of this country be preserved. This can not be done by public men fit for a public trust are put in office.

A Patriotic Duty.

To place good men in office now patriotic duty that every voter to his country at any time, and especially in the present crisis, and colored voters will make an irreparable mistake if they fail to go to the Tuesday and cast their ballots for right men. For the last few years part of the Republican party waged a strong fight in the interest of clean government in this city. Against the colored voters have brought to light and justice has meted out to the offenders. It is unfortunate for the colored race as a whole if the voters failed to show their appreciation for the men who have been instrumental in bettering their condition in this city.

FRANCES BERRY COST

E. A. JOHNSON FIRST NEGRO LEGISLATOR IN NEW YORK STATE

Republican Assemblyman from 19th District Manhattan, Promises Effective Work.

IS A LAWYER AND AUTHOR BROOKLYN N. Y. EAGLE JANUARY 20, 1918 (Special to The Eagle.)

Albany, January 19.—For the first time in its history New York State has a negro legislator. He is Edward A. Johnson, Republican Assemblyman from the Nineteenth District of Manhattan. Several times before other negroes—some of them of national prominence—have attempted to attain legislative honors in the Empire State, but they have always been unsuccessful. The last instance of note was in Rochester when Fred Douglass, anti-slavery orator and one-time Minister to Hayti, sought election to the lower house, but was badly beaten.

Johnson's success is, therefore, unique in New York politics, and it cannot be charged up to "the war," as most political upsets have been recently. Johnson's victory is simply the natural result of the primaries when district leaders refuse to recognize in advance the demands of their bailiwicks. In the words of Johnson, this is how it happened:

"There are approximately 10,500 voters in my district. Two-thirds are white; one-third is negro. The negroes have been for four years demanding representation on the ticket. Each time they have been refused. They were again last fall. The party leaders designated Maxim Brainkrant for the Republican nomination. At the behest of my friends I entered the primaries against him. I beat him. The leaders then recognized the result of the vote and got behind me. I was elected."

In appearance Johnson is medium tall, slender, almost 60 years of age, with gray hair, slightly-grayed mustache, Roman nose, smooth-shaven cheeks and a short chin beard. His affable manner and quiet humor have already gained him popularity among his fellow Assemblymen and he gives promise of being an effective legislator.

He is a lawyer and, like most men of that profession, public office has always appealed to him, and the present one is by no means the first he has held. In early life he lived in North Carolina, and while there served two years as a member of the Board of Aldermen in Raleigh; was for nine years an Assistant United States District Attorney in that city, and sat in three Republican National Conventions as a delegate from his home section.

Although a negro and therefore naturally interested in the welfare par-

ticularly of that race, Johnson's plans for his legislative activities are by no means bound solely within that province. As he expressed it in talking to The Eagle correspondent yesterday: "I have introduced four bills thus far. Two of them concern the negro race particularly. The others concern the people, of all races."

"I am particularly interested in food legislation and in legislation affecting rents—legislation that will help the poor man, reducing rents and safeguarding the interests of tenants. But I am not one of those legislators who want all their ideas expressed in bills with their own names attached. I am here to get results, if I can."

"The other man's bill, if it seeks to get what I want, or if he will amend it to fit the object, is just as satisfactory."

Johnson's Equal Rights Bill.

Johnson's bills that affect particularly his race are designed to prevent discrimination because of race or color. One of them seeks to amend the penal law by making it a misdemeanor to exclude a citizen from any employment or from any hospital supported by public funds "because of race, color, creed or previous condition of servitude." The other, which is really a supplemental bill amending another statute to conformance with his idea, seeks to amend Section 40 of the civil rights law by including "hospitals supported by public funds" among the institutions which must give equal rights to all persons within the State.

One of the other bills he has introduced seeks to permit "common carriers," railroads, street-car lines, etc., to give free transportation to soldiers, sailors or marines in uniform—the same privilege accorded Army and Navy men in England and France at present. The other bill seeks to permit children to work during school vacations.

Johnson was born in North Carolina in 1860. He received his early education in the Washington Public School at Raleigh. He studied later at Atlanta University and graduated in law at Shaw University, Raleigh. Subsequently he became an instructor in that university and taught there for fourteen years. He remained in Raleigh until 1907, when he came to New York, and has since been practicing law in this State. He lives at 17 West 132d street.

Aside from his practice, Johnson has devoted himself to some literary and research work and has written four books.

One of them is a history of the negro race and has been adopted as a text book in the negro schools in North Carolina. Another is a history of the negro soldiers in the Spanish-American War and a third is entitled "Light Ahead for the Negro," and is a prophetic treatise on the future outlook for the negro. He is also the editor of the Negro Almanac and Statistics, an almanac devoted particularly to information of interest to his own race.

NINE COLORED MEN ELECTED

Chicago Sends Three, New York Two and West Virginia Three to the State Legislature. Nine Negroes were elected to of-

fices in the election Nov. 5, according to information received by The Argus. Eight of these will sit in State Legislatures. The other, Charles H. Turpin, was elected Constable in the 4th District of St. Louis.

Two in New York

New York City.—Two Negroes were elected to the New York State Legislature from the Harlem District in Tuesday's election—E. A. Johnson and John Clifford Hawkins.

Mr. Johnson was re-elected to the Assembly from the Nineteenth Assembly District, defeating John J. Healy, Democrat, by a small margin.

John Clifford Hawkins was elected to the Assembly from the Twenty-first Assembly District. The Colored women voters played a big part in this victory.

For the first time in the history of the State the race will be represented by two assemblymen.

Three in Chicago

Chicago, Ill.—Hon. Adelbert H. Roberts, Warren G. Douglass and Editor S. B. Turner have been elected members from the Chicago district as members of the Illinois Legislature. Mr. Roberts is a widely known orator and clerk in the Municipal Court; Warren Douglass is a lawyer of splendid literary attainments and S. B. Turner is editor of the Illinois Idea, this being his second time to be elected to the Illinois Legislature.

Three in West Virginia

Charleston, W. Va., Nov. 9.—Resulting from Tuesday's election three Colored men will have seats in the lower house when West Virginia's legislature convenes next January, rivaling the record of any State since the days of Reconstruction.

The successful candidates, nominated in primaries and elected on the Republican ticket, are: J. V. Coleman, of Fayette County, formerly postmaster at Kimberly, now engaged in the production of coal; H. J. Capehart of McDowell County, an attorney-at-law, and T. G. Nutter, former Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks, at present Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias. Mr. Nutter is also an attorney.

Both Fayette and McDowell counties have had Colored legislators before, the former three and the latter one, but at no time has there been more than one Colored representative in the legislature.

The nomination and election of these men is considered remarkable for the fact that in none of the counties which they represent is there a majority of Colored voters, the percentage in McDowell being 34, Fayette 22 and Kanawha 10.

Turpin Elected, Riley and Phillips Defeated.

Charles H. Turpin was elected Constable in the Fourth District by 992 over O'Donnel and 1229 over O'Brien, the Democratic candidates.

Homer G. Phillips, independent candidate for Justice of the Peace in the Fourth District, was defeated. Phil-

lips received 664 votes. This is considered laudable in as much as it was necessary to scratch one of the candidates and write his name in. The vote for him by wards was: Sixth 108, Sixteenth 91, Seventeenth 165. Total 664.

Dr. Riley was evidently counted out, judging by the narrow margin by which he was defeated. It is significant that of 16 men elected to the State Legislature, 15 were Republicans and the only Negro Republican on the ticket was defeated by a white Democrat. The following is the vote in the Fourth Legislative District:

Republicans	
Bittner	9,845
Davidson	9,779
Riley	8,284
Democrats	
O'Brien	8,621
McNamara	8,522
Hogan	8,254

According to these figures O'Brien, Democrat, won over Riley by 337 votes.

IS IT NOT TIME TO SPLIT THE NEGRO VOTE?

W. H. Zeiser, an alderman of the city of Louisville, Ky., who prior to his election was in the wool Republican, and by his professed friendship won the votes of the colored Republicans, has not introduced an ordinance in the Board of Aldermen for separate street car accommodation in the city of Louisville for colored people.

After fifty years dealing with pie counter Republicans the Negroes by this time should have enough of it. Some of the Republicans are the warmest sort of friends of the Negro prior to and on election day but they are hard to reach after. They not only turn out to be not friends but often they are down right enemies. The Negro will learn some day to split his vote. A number of them might cast their votes in favor of the Democratic party but the Democratic party stands four square for the suppression of the Negro. What better could the Negro do than to give his vote to the prohibition party and help

often wipe out the saloon, which will mean the second emancipation of the Negro?—From Southwestern Christian Advocate.

In order to split the vote colored men could vote the Socialist ticket with wisdom.

Benjamin F. Hughes has been nominated in the primaries as the Republican nominee for the Ohio Legislature from Franklin County.

11/15/18

Office Holding EX-PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS COLORED AMERICANS

Caustic Answer to an Apologist—Does Education Help the Colored Leader?—Colored Americans in Washington Unable to See Beyond the Potomac River—Harmful Effect of the Roosevelt Admirer's Administration.

Washington Bee 12-21-18
Disfranchisement Makes Lynching Possible—Colonel Roosevelt's Appointment of Colored Men to Office—Less Discrimination in the Way of Promotion Under the Present Administration—Words Are no Criterion of Policy—How Can Any Colored American Look With Approbation Upon Roosevelt?

Editor The Bee:

I read with mingled amusement and disgust a letter to Colonel Roosevelt, published in a recent issue of The Eagle over the signature of Prof. Neval H. Thomas. The letter states that twelve million colored people in America are praying for the Colonel's recovery from an indisposition from which he was at that time suffering.

I desire to modify to some extent the impression which that letter is calculated to create. I am sure that there is at least one Negro who is not praying for Roosevelt's recovery. If I ever had any influence at the throne of Jehovah, I suppose I lost that influence as a result of some of the incidents of the Roosevelt administration, for even to the present day I cannot think of Mr. Roosevelt without committing a sin.

The above-mentioned letter clearly indicates that Prof. Thomas is one of those 33rd degree Roosevelt admirers, but with all due respect to him, I differ very radically from him in his estimate of that distinguished statesman, particularly on the race question, and I trust you will pardon me if I should have the temerity to arrogate to myself the belief that while Prof. Thomas' letter reflects the views of thousands of educated Negroes, yet his endorsement of Mr. Roosevelt is only sentimental, but my objections to him are logical. Nor does the numerical preponderance on the opposite side of the question which I am now about to present, tend to weaken the morale

—of that school of opinion to which I belong, but is inclined to have just the opposite effect, for the endorsement of any man by the great majority of educated Negroes is within itself the strongest proof that there is something radically wrong with the man; and in view of that fact it has become a serious question in the minds of some of our best friends whether higher education is not a liability rather than an asset with the average Negro. Observation corroborates the fact that he can master the intricacies of Greek, Prose or Analytical Geometry with ease, but the more you crowd his cranium with the Classics and Science of Ancient Greece and Rome, the less room is left for the analysis and digest of practical questions. Prof. Thomas considers Roosevelt the greatest man in all the world; well perhaps he is in many respects, so was Jesse James in at least one respect. But as I previously stated, I have the highest personal regard for Prof. Thomas; I respect him for his learning, his pugnacious disposition and willingness to stand up for his race, regardless of personal risk or sacrifice, but from a purely racial standpoint he is wrong in his high opinion of Mr. Roosevelt, and I take this occasion to remind the readers of this fearless paper that there is at least one Negro in Washington whose breadth of view enables him to estimate Mr. Roosevelt according to his real value, according to what he is rather than what he appears to be. In attempting to do this I proceed under the conscientious handicap that it is im-

possible to convince the average Negro that Roosevelt is anything else than the incarnation of Divinity, yet I am charitable enough to assume that the entire controversy resolves itself to a question of viewpoint which, perhaps, is largely influenced by locality of observation. But there is where the trouble lies. No astronomer can calculate the distance of a planet by a single observation: there must be at least two observations from as many different localities, and the apparent variation in the position of the planet as seen from two different observations forms the angle of parallax which together with the base line as represented by the distance between the two observations produces a concrete object upon which correct results may be obtained by applying a simple formula of triangulation.

Negro Deserves Pity.

When this phase of the question is considered, the Negro deserves more pity than censure. The average Negro cannot think nationally, he only thinks locally. The Negro in Washington cannot see beyond the Potomac River. However highly you may elevate his mental viewpoint, his intellectual horizon does not transcend the geometrical confines of the District of Columbia; hence, Prof. Thomas only sees Roosevelt from an intellectual observatory erected in Ledroit Park, and naturally has never seen him as he is. And again, the vision presented by the outside view of a distant object raises the question as to what is hidden beyond, and as the inaccessibility of the object renders the answer a matter of deduction, the person who is incapable of reasoning never attempts to answer that question. Thus the ignoramus viewing the biplane sailing through the air, jumps at the conclusion that the principle of aeronautics disputes the law of gravitation. The reason for such conclusion is that he hasn't sense enough to go behind the curtain of outward appearance and analyse the scientific facts and natural circumstances involved. If he knew enough to consider the buoyancy of the atmosphere in connection with the third law of motive, he could readily understand that the machine, though heavier than air, might easily remain afloat and that after all Newton was correct in his calculations as to the attractive force exerted between any

two given objects in the physical universe. So the political ignoramus, hearing Mr. Roosevelt's dazzling declarations from the forum, jumps at the conclusion that he is the greatest man in the world, without stopping to look behind the scene and examine his official behavior in the White House. Perhaps if I had been born in the North or West, I could see something in Roosevelt to admire, but, fortunately or unfortunately, as you like, I was born, reared and educated in South Carolina, and the accident of such birth placed me in a position to observe the harmful effect the Roosevelt administration has had upon relations between the two races.

His Objection to Roosevelt.

My objections to Mr. Roosevelt are based upon three circumstances.

First, recognition and development of the lily-white faction of the Republican party.

Second, preference shown to Democrats over Negroes in the matter of Federal patronage.

Third, the Brownsville affair. While I would not be understood to impeach a man's wisdom because he disagrees with me on a political question, it seems to me that any one of the above-mentioned circumstances is sufficient to alienate any intelligent Negro from Roosevelt forever and ever.

As to the first circumstance, I desire to state that, in the first place, there is no difference between lily-whitism and Tillmanism. For the basic principle of lily-whitism is that the white man is supreme and the Negro must stay out of office. This occasion neither warrants nor permits an enlargement upon the history of that infamous faction, but it would be necessary to note just here that all of our Republican presidents, except General Grant, were lily-whites in principle, but Roosevelt was the first to be so highly favored by circumstances as to be permitted to put the principle into practical operation. Hays withdrew the army to please the South; Garfield was shot before he got a chance to make a fool of himself; Harrison was inclined toward the lily-whites, but a desire for a second term prompted the introduction of the Lodge Force Bill; naturally Mr. Harrison supported the measure with all his might, but such support was not actuated by oath of office or purity of principles, but he was simply driven to act "ex necessitate rei." McKinley was also

inclined to the lily-whites, but he was restrained by the dominating personality of Mark Hanna, who was old-fashioned enough to consider every man as the equal of every other man, but with Roosevelt there was nothing to hamper his natural inclination to those astute rascals and wire-pullers from the South, and the result was the regular Republicans were steam-rolled in favor of the lily-whites. As I have previously said, lily-whitism means white supremacy and the passing of the Negro officeholder. However, it was only a few years prior to the McKinley administration that the evolution of lily-whitism developed to the dignity and proportions of a political organization, and I had the honor or dishonor of being an eye-witness to the first lily-white State Convention that met in South Carolina. I recall very readily that as a little barefoot boy I sat in the gallery of the Assembly Hall of the State Capitol in Columbia and heard the Hon. Sampson Pope, of Newberry, S. C., in the course of his address as permanent chairman of the convention, make the following statement:

"We stand for the supremacy of the white man in law and politics, but we are willing to tolerate the better class of Negroes, those who by their industry and intelligence show themselves to be worthy of consideration."

That statement was the keynote of the convention.

Now, it must be remembered that at least 70 per cent of the membership of the convention were Negroes among whom were such men as Congressman George W. Murray, the famous Dr. Crum, and Prof. J. W. Morris, president of Allen University, who made the speech nominating Mr. Pope for the permanent chairmanship. The intellectual and social status of these men were relatively the same as that of Prof. Thomas in this community, yet they stood under the sound of Mr. Pope's voice and not only swallowed, but cheered what he said.

How intelligent Negroes could voluntarily stoop to so disgraceful a sacrifice of honorable manhood as to stomach such excrementitious evacuation is a riddle which I have never been able to guess. As aforesaid, the lily-whites are opposed to the Negro in office, and the only way to keep the Negro out of office is to keep the

ballot out of his hands; and since, in places, and said that without such the last analysis, disfranchisement appointments there can be no democracy makes lynching possible, then it follows that the only constructive remedy for lynching is the enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment. That brings us down to the second circumstance supporting my objection. The Negroes may pray and preact to Mr. Roosevelt, namely, the and prophesy until hell freezes, but preference shown to Democrats over he lynching post will never disappear until the Southern Negro gets the ballot in his hands. In view of this fact, it is plain that the principle of lily-whitism is at war with anti-lynching propaganda, or, conversely, lily-whitism is a medium through which aid and comfort are indirectly furnished to the advocates and promoters of mob law.

Prof. Thomas considers Mr. Roosevelt's denunciations of lynching as having done more to crystallize public opinion than any other force in America, although Mr. Roosevelt's record proves him to be a past master in the disgraceful art of prevarication and duplicity. I am liberal enough to assume from his utterings on the subject that he is morally opposed to lynching, but moral opposition in the abstract, when not supported by a definite concrete policy, never remedies an evil. Pontius Pilate was morally opposed to the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, yet he permitted the Roman soldiers to nail the Saviour to the cross. Chief Justice Taney was morally opposed to slavery, yet he handed down the Dred Scott decision. So Mr. Roosevelt, while morally opposed to lynching, permits his Southern henchmen to withhold from the Negro the only weapon by which he can ever defend himself against lynching.

Prof. Thomas, according to his letter, hopes for an opportunity to vote Mr. Roosevelt into the Presidency, and since Mr. Roosevelt's utterings against lynching are so potent the learned professor leaves one free to infer that he would consider Mr. Roosevelt's elevation to the executive chair as placing him in a position to wield still greater influence in the same direction. Thus in attempting to remedy a great evil Prof. Thomas would try to baffle the effect through the very agency that encourages the cause. Such inconsistency on the part of intelligent men is actually disgusting to God Almighty.

Roosevelt's Appointments.

Prof. Thomas refers to Mr. Roosevelt's appointment of Negroes to high

I submit that Roosevelt is the author of segregation, and in proof of the general charge, I cite the particular specification of J. C. Dancy's transfer from the collectorship in Wilmington to the recordership in Washington. Leaving out the question of Dancy's individual promotion, which I commend rather than criticize, ask yourself the question, Why was this transfer made? The fact that Dancy was succeeded by a white man answers the question—that it was made to please the lily-whites of North Carolina. When you consider the transaction in toto, what does it amount to but segregation? If Roosevelt will remove a Negro from an office in a town in North Carolina because white people object, what can we expect from Woodrow Wilson, when objection is raised to a Negro's sitting at a desk in Washington? The two situations are parallel in principle, and it seems to me that Negroes who hold college degrees ought at least to be able to perceive that things equaling the same thing are equal to each other. Nor was his majesty, Theodore I, content to simply segregate and relegate the Negro to an obscure corner of the pie counter, but his policy was to smother the voice of his helpless victim by robbing him of the last vestige of a representative voice at court, and if this charge is false I challenge Prof. Thomas to refute it by answering the following questions:

1. What did Roosevelt mean by dismissing Judge Lyons from the Republican National Committee? Was Lyons an escaped convict or an alien enemy? I answer that he was neither, but, unfortunately, he was a Negro, and as such he was "persona non grata" to the Georgia branch of the United Brotherhood of Lynchers, and Mr. Roosevelt, who is an honorary member of the same order, promptly removed Lyons to please the dignitaries and past masters of that distinguished fraternity.

2. What did Mr. Roosevelt mean by slamming the door of the Bull Moose Convention in the faces of those few Negroes who were silly enough to go to Chicago and try to force their way into the feast of Belshazza? Of course, such idiots deserved no better treatment. They should not only have been rejected, but should all have been arrested and sent to a lunatic asylum for observa-

tion. But that view does not alter Mr. Roosevelt's motive in refusing admittance to the men, not because they were fools, but because they were Negroes.

3. What did Mr. Roosevelt mean when he said to a prominent Texas lily-white that the Negro should stay out of politics and the Southern white man should rule?—which was a verbatim reiteration of the very law handed to Ben Tillman by the God of white supremacy upon the summit of Mt. Sinai and promulgated to the American people by that great political "Moses"—the very gospel which is now being preached along the hedges and highways by such eminent divines as the Rev. Dr. Hoke Smith and Deacon James K. Vardaman. And yet, in spite of these questions, which no man can answer without exposing the anti-Negro side of Roosevelt's personality, there are thousands of ignorant dupes in our race who are willing to forgive him before he repents, simply because he appointed two or three Negroes to "high places." I submit that any Republican President whose public policy is to ignore the fundamental right of the elective franchise among the masses of Negroes, and thus to undermine the privilege of a representative voice at the council of state, is a deadly enemy to the race, it matters not how many Crums he may appoint or how many Booker Washingtons he may entertain or how many Indianola post offices he may abolish. But before passing from federal patronage, let us discuss another phase of Prof. Thomas' childish argument—that the only way to maintain democracy is simply to appoint a few Negroes to "high places." I refer to the appointment of Negroes in the North and West. In the first place, no one has ever accused Roosevelt of being a fool. He knows that the popular vote of the country is normally Democratic—that is, with the Negro eliminated from the political equation; and, in order to perpetuate his own fortunes, it is necessary to gain the favor of the Negroes in the voting states. He also knows that the Negro in office in the North would be objectionable to Northern Republicans, but objections from that source would only be nominal, since the North, in view of the close vote in the pivotal states, would not dare to press such objections to the point of partisan revolt;

consequently he gains the reputation of being a fearless champion of political rights because he appoints Negroes in the face of objection. Thus, in order to please the lynchers of the South, he kicks all the Negroes out of political offices and party councils in the South, and to allay the possible discontent on the part of the Negroes, he appoints one or two of them to office in the North, and the great mass of presumably intelligent Negroes, instead of calling Roosevelt to account for the harm he has done in the South, unite in praising his holy name for the good which they think he has done in the North.

In discussing the soldiers connected with that ill-starred affair in the manner in which he did, Mr. Roosevelt not only reversed a fundamental principle of criminal procedure, but he also violated a statute in order to punish Negroes and please the South, and since he is the only President who ever dared to usurp and use such autocratic power against our race, I hold that he is the greatest enemy we ever had in the executive chair. Other Presidents have sat quietly and supinely by, through the sin of acquiescence, and permitted our enemies to infringe on our rights, but Roosevelt is the only President who ever committed an overt act of injustice against our race.

How Can Any Negro Look With Approbation?

How any Negro can look with approbation upon Roosevelt after that unpardonable outrage is one of the deepest mysteries of racial characteristic. The claim has often been made that Hannibal was a Negro, and while I have always doubted the validity of that claim, from the fact that it is somewhat wanting in historical support, yet I am a victim to natural instincts of sentimentality which have hitherto enjoined me from resolving that doubt in the negative. But in view of some Negroes' love for Roosevelt, in spite of Brownsville, I have been able to form a definite opinion that while the genealogical history of the Barcine family proves that Hannibal was not an Aryan, the simple fact that he had sense enough to hate the Romans is to my mind conclusive evidence that the mighty Carthaginian was certainly not a Negro. Turning from the sentimental to the logical side of

(See next card)

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(From foregoing card)
"Ex-President Roosevelt, etc."
Washington Bee 12/21/18

the Brownsville affair, we are called upon to consider two questions—the question of fact and the question of law. Of course, the fact that this letter is intended for home consumption renders a technical argument in this connection somewhat useless, for the average educated Negro, while flattering himself in the glory of what he calls intellectual attainments, doesn't know any more about the practical operation of our constitutional system than a bullfrog knows about the aurora borealis. At this stage of the discussion, it would be unfair to the subject to neglect its legal side. Without extensive comment, it is sufficient to say that the direct evidence adduced from the unreliable testimony of eye-witnesses in the case was not sufficiently convincing to overcome the testimony of the soldiers in their own behalf, which was corroborated by their officers. The circumstantial evidence in the case was so inconsistent with guilt as to have a decided tendency in favor of acquittal instead of conviction. As to the question of law, that question involved two distinct phases—first, the authority of the President to dismiss a soldier as a general proposition, and, second, the "modus procedendi" in this particular case. The first phase involves the contract of enlistment, which raises the point that while a civil contract is binding alike on both parties, yet the nature of a contract is to be determined by the capacity in which the government acts on the negotiation of that contract. If in a business transaction then it is a civil contract, if in the performance of a governmental function the nature of the contract is altered. Now, as the maintenance of the United States Army is not a business transaction, but rather a governmental function, it follows that the contract of enlistment is not a civil contract. Hence Mr. Roosevelt was technically within his constitutional prerogative when he dissolved that contract, and since the Supreme Court has upheld him, his action under the first phase of the question of laws stands "res adjudicata." But in order that the gen-

eral prerogatives of the Chief Executive might not be abused at the expense of the soldier in particular cases, Congress enacted statutes on the subject known as Articles of War. That brings us down to the second phase of the question of law. In the first place, a man charged with crime is entitled to the benefit of prima facie presumption of innocence until the fact of his guilt has been adjudicated according to the rules of evidence. Thus Mr. Roosevelt reversed that principle when he presumed the men to be guilty, and acted upon that presumption, and at the same time failed to try the men by court-martial, as directed by the Articles of War.

Violated the Statute.

Not only did he violate the statute, but he violated Article I, Section IX, of the Constitution, since his act was in effect a bill of attainder which is prohibited by the above mentioned section. So much for the legal side of the question. In attempting to say a word relative to the sociological aspect of the case, I venture the conviction that it is entirely impossible to exaggerate the harm that act has done our people. The pro-Roosevelt Negro always invariably advances the argument that Mr. Roosevelt would have followed the same course had the soldiers involved been white instead of colored, but the historical fact that a company of white soldiers during the same administration committed a similar offense, and that none of them was discharged, obviates the necessity of comment on that point. But, granting for the sake of argument that he would have treated white soldiers just as he did the colored soldiers, the fact does not minimize the element of injustice involved. The same school of Roosevelt worshippers also argue that Mr. Taft made the recommendation in the case and official precedence demanded its enforcement. In the first place, the above statement is a lie, as Taft was not in Washington when the matter was brought before the President.

Before proceeding further, I must pause long enough to pay my respects to his fatness, Sir William

Taft. I consider Mr. Taft as one of the most remarkable men of the age. I admire him to the point of worship. I have said on many occasions that I would not harm a hair of his head, not alone because there is not a hair in the extreme top of his head, but for two other and more important reasons—first, as a result of the war we are now passing through an area of scarcity, and we have nothing to throw away, and to shoot Taft would entail an unwarranted waste of material, since he is not worth the bullet it would take to kill him. Second, I have no grudge against the worms that nature would force to consume his carcass. In view of the foregoing circumstances, I would permit him to live indefinitely. Coming back to the subject, if we grant for the sake of argument that Taft did recommend the discharge of the soldiers, then the argument places Mr. Roosevelt in a still more difficult position.

If Roosevelt was under such hypnotic compulsion to follow Taft's recommendation in the matter of discharge, why was he not under compulsion to obey when Taft offered to re-open the case and hear the evidence? The answer is obvious to all except Roosevelt's crowd. Some say that Mr. Roosevelt thought, and still thinks, that the men were guilty. But Mr. Roosevelt's action in discharging those men simply because he thought they were guilty, is the most aggravating feature of the case. When a mob lynches a Negro, they do so because they think he is guilty, and Mr. Roosevelt's action in discharging those men because he thought they were guilty, is parallel to that of the very mob to which Prof. Thomas refers in his letter of sympathy. In other words, any act which inflicts punishment where guilt has not been established is lynch law, pure and simple.

I have always thought that the Georgia crackers were advancing well enough in that particular brand of jurisprudence without receiving special instructions from Roosevelt, and yet Prof. Thomas thinks Mr. Roosevelt's denunciations have done more to crystallize public opinion than any other force in America.

I would add in reply that his act in the Brownsville affair did more to encourage lynching than any other force in America. In this connection I say of the two military riots, give special consideration to the needs of the Negro laborer in the Department of Labor.

The Administration has done well; the wisdom of the statesmanlike policy to the extent to which it has given recognition to the Negro has been fully vindicated by the enthusiastic loyalty and patriotism exhibited by the race in response to every call of the government. The Administration is therefore deserving of high praise from the race and as the only organ which speaks daily for 12,000,000 loyal black Americans we render praise and we do so not grudgingly but gladly and willingly. Not that it has done for the Negro all or even a tenth part of what he deserves. But we are appreciative and grateful for the recognition given.

The Negro pays his full share of the taxes which support and maintain the government and its armies and navy; he bears his full portion of every burden placed upon the shoulders of any other classes of citizens; he constitutes the only class of citizens whose face wears the stamp of loyalty; his labor has enriched the southern section of the country until it is fast developing into the richest and most powerful section of the United States; the reward he has received in those states includes lynching, disfranchisement, Jim Crowing, and oppression of every form that has become unendurable and intolerable.

It is in the power of the present Administration to change conditions in the South and the country at

Wesley E. Cheesboro.
A NEGRO REPRESENTATIVE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

W. Daily Herald, May 2, 1918.

Since the entrance of the United States into the world war the Administration has given the Negro a much more generous recognition than the most hopeful of the race expected. It has a representative in the War Department; more than a thousand young men of the race hold official commissions in the Army; a representative has recently been selected to

large.

War conditions are developing a sentiment of friendliness and real sympathy between the races in the South that needs only a master guiding hand to put an end to the worst phases of the so-called "Negro problem."

A more generous and liberal recognition of Negroes by the government and a quiet understanding with Southern state officials and leaders that the perils of the terrible war require that all elements of loyal American citizenship be brought into united and harmonious relationship by the slight concessions of rights and privileges and extension of protection and equal justice before the law to Negroes will go further than any policy since emancipation in destroying the perils involved in the so-called "Negro problem."

In the South the Negro farmer is the most important and the most valuable asset of the race and is admittedly one of the most important and valuable assets without regard to race in that section. He has bought his way by main strength and incredible sacrifice to a position of respectability and honor in the business world. He is becoming self sustaining and independent and needs encouragement and the same helpful consideration given white farmers. He is unfairly and unjustly discriminated against.

Farm loan boards bar him from the benefits of the Rural Credits laws. He is not made to feel that the general government feels the same care and solicitude for his welfare as for other citizens.

The race should be given representation in the Agricultural Department. A man of the type of Hon. Emmett J. Scott, of the War Department, or Dr. Geo. E. Haynes of the Labor Department would soon bring the Negro into closer relationship with the government and bring about the establishment of a more sympathetic and generous attitude on the part of the government for the Negro farmer.

We hope the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture will consider the advisability of granting the race representation, both for the good of the nation and the helpfulness of the race.

DEFENDER POLICY WINS AT LAST

7-6-18
City Hall Forces Show "Real

Democracy" in State
Chicago Making

By A. N. Fields

Fifteen thousand people jammed and crowded the Coliseum last Monday night to witness the nomination of the city and county tickets of the Republican party, led by Mayor William Hale Thompson for United States senator, and drawn from the ranks of every creed, color and race. It was truly a representative political ticket, as well as was the gathering who assembled to do the nominating.

At 8 o'clock the meeting was called to order by State Senator Brady. From then on until 11 o'clock the program was replete with interest. It represented an old-time Republican convention, such as was seldom witnessed at the Coliseum.

The nominations of interest to us were that of John B. French of the Twenty-fifth ward, county commissioner, a business man of high standing and a citizen of Chicago. Hon. George W. Ellis, author of international reputation, a distinguished traveler and sociologist, was named as candidate for associate judge of the Municipal court. He is at present assistant corporation counsel for the city of Chicago.

John B. French Nominated

The Fred Douglass Protective Association, which has manifested considerable interest in Hon. John B. French, will no doubt "go over the top" in their

efforts to put him over. The ticket on the whole is one of the most representative tickets ever nominated in Chicago and will be the prevailing ticket in the fall election. Congressman William E. Mason delivered the speech of the evening in setting forth his claims for re-election. He recounted the virtues of the Republican party and called upon his hearers to give unstinted support to the nomination and election of the entire ticket of the convention.

Mayor William Hale Thompson delivered an able address, dealing at length with the trust press and their conduct with reference to his administration. He said for eighteen years he has stood firm and battled for the people against the Tribune and Tribune family, and that, regardless of office, such would be his future course.

Defender Policy Victorious

The nomination of George W. Ellis for judge is further evidence of the continued friendly attitude of the Thompson administration and binds the race politically to that party and faction, who see in our people true elements of manhood. His selection was timely. He has held public office as secretary of the American legation to Liberia for several years, during which time he acquitted himself in an exceptionally creditable manner.

The citizens of Chicago have long felt that if Washington, D. C., could boast of a Municipal court judge who has served under all administrations that it was high time that Chicago, with its boasted political preference, could enjoy the same distinction. The question of the nomination of one of our fellows has been the fight of the Chicago Defender for several years, and the Defender feels that in this instance this selection is a fitting consummation of the manifest interest this paper has taken in the fight for Municipal judge. Every citizen should exercise every possible effort to see that the entire ticket goes "over the top" in the fall election.

Solos were sung by a number of celebrities, among them being our own George Garner, who, on invitation of Hon. Samuel A. Ettelson, returned to Chicago for the specific purpose of rendering a selection on this occasion. The Umbrian Glee club also rendered several selections. Leo Feist quartette, prominent in the white musical world, charmed the audience with several selections.

The Ticket Nominated

Sheriff—George Hitzman, Thirty-third ward.

Treasurer—Percy B. Coffin, Twenty-fifth ward.

County Clerk—Andrew C. Metzger, Seventh ward.

County Judge—Frank S. Righeimer, Thirty-third ward.

Probate Court Judge—Clifford G. Roe, Sixth ward.

Probate Court Clerk—George E. Nye, Thirtieth ward.

Criminal Court Clerk—Morris Eller, Twentieth ward.

Superintendent of Schools—John B. Strassberger, Twenty-first ward.

Assessors—James Rea, Thirty-second ward, and B. J. Evans, Fourth ward.

Board of Review—William H. Reid, Thirty-first ward.

Sanitary Trustees—Charles Vavrik, Thirty-fourth ward; Alexander N. Todd, Fourteenth ward, and James P. Bowler, Nineteenth ward.

President County Board—P. H. Moynihan, Dr. Jacob Gartenstein, Tenth ward; John T. Nebeck, Eleventh ward; James J. McComb, Fifteenth ward;

Charles S. Rassmussen, Seventeenth ward; Louis P. Piquett, Twenty-first ward; F. Bowden DeForrest, Twenty-third ward; John B. French, Twenty-fifth ward; Edwin C. Masters, Twenty-eighth ward; Alexander J. Johnson, Thirty-third ward, with five from the country districts to be chosen later.

Chief Justice Municipal Court—Henry T. Chase, Sixth ward.

Associate Judges, Municipal Court—George W. Ellis, Second ward; Hector A. Broulette, Fifth ward; Benton F. Kleeman, Ninth ward; Stephen A. Thieda, Twelfth ward; Meyer Rosen, Eighteenth ward; Daniel G. Gerst, Nineteenth ward; Edgar A. Jonas, Twenty-fifth ward; James W. Breen, Thirtieth ward; Frank Peska, Thirty-fifth ward.

Associate Judge to Fill Vacancies—Michael E. Libonati, Nineteenth ward.

Clerk of Municipal Court—William H. Wesby, Twenty-sixth ward.

Bailiff Municipal Court—Peter G. Six, Twenty-ninth ward.

Among the conspicuous leaders at the convention were our distinguished Bishop Levi J. Coppin, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. A. J. Carey, Mr. and Mrs. Edward H. Wright, Alderman and Mrs. Louis B. Anderson, Alderman and Mrs. R. R. Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. Willis Jefferson, George Woodson, Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Lucas, Hon. Edward D. Green, Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Roberts, Editor Robert S. Abbott and staff.

FISK CONFERS TO SUPPORT

THE GOVERNMENT

The Daily Herald.
Professor Haynes Appointed Director

of Negro Economics.

April 23, 1918.
(Special to The Daily Herald.)

Nashville, Tenn. April 20—Few Colleges of the same size as Fisk can boast of rendering as much service to the Government in this war as Fisk has rendered. She has in her service flag 74 stars. These stars represent members who are 100 per cent American. One of these stars represent a young man whom many Washnigtonians, and probably a few Baltimoreans have cause to remember. He is Mr. Benjamin Gordon, one of the debaters who so ably defended Fisk in the recent Howard-Fisk debate at Howard University.

There are also two of Fisk's Professors in the Y. M. C. A. war work. They are Professor Shaw of the Physics Department and Professor Chambers of the English Department. These men left Fisk about a month ago to go into training at a Y. M. C. A. Camp in Blue Ridge, N. C. Both Professor Shaw and Professor Chambers returned to Fisk for a brief visit before going over the pond to serve

among the soldiers. Professor Chambers is to be stationed in England. Professor Shaw has not yet been stationed, according to latest reports.

Both students and the teachers were surprised when President McKenzie announced last night that Dr. George Edmund Haynes had been appointed Director of Negro Economics. This is a new office created in the Department of Labor by the Secretary of Labor, Hon. William Wilson. The appointment of Dr. Haynes to this position gives our race two representatives who are near to the Cabinet officers. The other one is Mr. Emmett J. Scott, who is Assistant Secretary of War Newton D. Baker. The duty of these men is to advise their chiefs in all department problems pertaining to the Negro. When President McKenzie announced this news last night he said, "The University is highly pleased to loan Professor Haynes to the Government, although it will be seriously crippled thereby."

Fisk is justly proud of Dr. Haynes because he is a graduate of Fisk. He was graduated in 1903 with an A. B. degree. In 1904 he received the M. A. degree from Yale University. A few years later, in 1909, he was given the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Columbia University. Since he been at Fisk as Professor of Social Science he has been interested in Negro welfare work in Nashville and in other cities over the entire country. It is thought that Dr. Haynes is the man best fitted for this position.

—W. T. ANDREWS, Jr.
Negro Aids of De Priest

Indorse Madden's Foe

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
JUNE 3, 1918

Negroes of the first congressional district, under the leadership of Oscar De Priest, last night selected James A. Scott, former assistant state's attorney, as a candidate for the Republican nomination for congress against Martin B. Madden, the incumbent. Their action was taken in Odd Fellows hall, 3335 South State street. The decision of the Negroes to make a fight against Congressman Madden is the result of his interference in the aldermanic fight in the Second ward in February, when he backed Ald. R. R. Jackson against Oscar De Priest at the primaries. Edward H. Morris had been agreed upon originally as the Ne-

gro Republican candidate against Madden, but his refusal to run led to the choice of Mr. Scott.

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TRANTON, N. J. 1918

FEBRUARY 22, 1918

NEGRO ADVANCEMENT.

Regardless of the merit or lack of merit of the defense made before the City Commissioners by Harvey, Trenton's Negro policeman, it is to be regretted by all friends of the race that no better showing appears in the official record of the appointee. Justly or unjustly the accomplishments of this Negro policeman here will weigh in the balances for or against men of his race everywhere.

Enemies of the Negro are all too eager to declare that he is readily spoiled by a bit of authority and he needs only opportunity to exploit traits of less desirable sort. With this sentiment prevailing it behooves the Negro everywhere to show the best of character and deportment at all times. If he does not the whole race suffers. Unfortunate as it is, the shortcomings of one Negro will do more to retard and tear down the achievements of the race than can be accomplished in the way of up-building by the decency and industry of scores of others. This being true every Negro who has the good of his people at heart, whether he be an educated leader or a humble, unlearned follower, should see to it that his own conduct in all things is always the best and should endeavor in every way to keep his fellows of every degree up to the same exalted standard.

The Negroes' future is in their own hands—it is assured if they, as a race and as individuals, take advantage of their opportunities. If many of them fulfill the unfair but all too common estimate of their character and ability the whole race will be the loser. The Negro truly ambitious will not be swerved from high ideals by selfish longings within himself nor by the disadvantages and prejudices encountered in a none too friendly world.

QUEENS SUFFRAGISTS INSTRUCT

COLORED WOMEN VOTERS

LONG ISLAND CITY N. Y. STATE

BARREN 2 1918

The Queens Borough Women's Suffrage party, on Thursday night, at Jamaica, gave a demonstration to the colored women voters of the borough as to the procedure in voting.

Mrs. Anna Barnes of Jamaica, president of the colored women's section of the party, presided at a short busi-

ness meeting. Dr. Maria Vinton explained briefly the essentials of the election law.

The women of the borough organization served as election inspectors and poll clerks, and Mrs. David Reger, borough chairman, acted as a policeman.

A fac-simile polling place was set up with a guard rail, ballot boxes and all of the rest of the voting paraphernalia. Every woman then went through the voting procedure. A few allowed their votes to be challenged to show how it is done.

At the conclusion of the demonstration the ways and means committed served coffee and cake and the meeting ended with songs.

DE SOTO, MO., HAS 2 NEGRO JUDGES

The St. Louis Argus.
(Special to the Argus)
April 2, 1918

DeSoto, Mo., April 2.—Two Negro judges and one Negro clerk were appointed in the 4th ward here during the city election last Tuesday. This is the first time that such has occurred in the history of DeSoto.

There was much objection among some of the whites to the appointment and they brought out a strong candidate to defeat the present councilman, Joseph Lorenz, who requested the city council to appoint Negroes. The colored voters united and re-elected Lorenz.

White Daily Papers Sling Mud at the Second Ward

The daily papers in referring to the proceedings of the city council, especially as they affect the Second Ward, take delight in using this appellation: "The two Negro aldermen did so and so." Such expressions are true whenever they have occasion to refer to the activities or presence of any of our professional men. They do not use the same manner of expressions when they refer to other wards or aldermen, when it is necessary to distinguish some position taken in council proceedings. Why not say to make it uniform that the two Irish aldermen, the two German aldermen, the two Italian aldermen, the two Jewish aldermen, the two Caucasian aldermen did so and so. No; this propaganda on their part has an ulterior motive, that of inciting Race prejudice and humiliation.

First Colored Man

Is Given Nomination

LOS ANGELES CAL EXAMINER

AUGUST 2, 1918

The nomination of Frederick M. Roberts, forty-fourth District, in the city election will, if elected, be the first colored man that ever served in the California Legislature. Roberts led his four opponents, William Greenwood, Peter Muller, Randall Phillips and William Vacher, all of the white race, by 200 votes on the last count early this morn-

ing. He is associated with the undertaking firm of A. J. Roberts' Sons & Company, 1119 South Los Angeles street, and has long been interested in educational and agricultural subjects. Eight years ago he ran for membership on the city Board of Education.

NEGROES TO BOOST

BLIND FOR CONGRESS

KANSAS CITY MO JOURNAL

JULY 5, 1918

Many of the foremost negroes of Kansas City have organized a negro "Blind for Congress" club, with headquarters at 1419 East Eighteenth street. Dr. E. B. Ramsey is chairman, Prof. John L. F. Talton secretary, J. B. Gibbs treasurer and A. L. Knox chairman of the executive committee.

The club has pledged itself to support Judge W. T. Bland in every way possible and has endorsed his candidacy because of his friendship for the negro race and for his efforts to better the negro schools of the city while a member of the board of education.

JERSEY CITY N. J. JOURNAL

MAY 8, 1918

COLORED VOTERS CAMP

ON GOV. EDGE'S TRAIL.

Strenuous protest emanates from the colored citizens of New Jersey over Rule 35, which prohibits so-called mixed bouts, or those between whites and negroes. This sentiment among the colored citizens is general over the State, and much criticism has been directed by them against Gov. Edge for permitting the Commissioners to adopt such a drastic rule, one that virtually bars negro boxers out of the game in this State. The colored folk supported Edge for Governor, but they are now bitter against the Chief Executive.

A delegation of colored citizens will wait upon the Commissioners at their weekly meeting in Trenton next Tuesday and endeavor to have the rule stricken from the boxing code. The delegation will be headed by W. T. Banks, who is manager of Buddy Faulks and Young Hicks of Newark. Joe Jeannette of West Hoboken, the veteran New Jersey heavyweight, will appear before the Commissioners at the same time to show the type of men the colored boxers performing to-day in the ring are.

BOSTON MASS HERALD

OCTOBER 22, 1918

NEGROES INDORSE REPUBLICAN TICKET

More than 75 Negroes, representing every city in Massachusetts, endorsed "My Opponent Is a Nigger." Mr. Roberts, editor of the New Age, was elected to the California Legislature over his opponent, Gayhart (white) by a majority of 726 votes. Gayhart attempted to appeal to race prejudice and slide into office. He covered the entire district, which is mostly populated by whites, with cards reading, "My Opponent Is a Nigger." Mr. Roberts is the first man of his race to be elected to the position in the state. He formerly was a school principal at Mount Bavon, Miss.

DR. JOSEPH L. JOHNSON NEW

MINISTER TO LIBERIA

DR. JOSEPH L. JOHNSON OF COLUMBUS, Ohio, has been appointed minister resident to Liberia. Dr. Johnson was for some years special examiner for the U. S. Pension Bureau. Mr. Richard C. Bunday, of Cincinnati, Ohio, is now serving as secretary of the American Legation at Monrovia, Liberia.

Jackson and Anderson Sustained by Voters

Aldermen Jackson and Anderson of the Second Ward were sustained in the position on the traction question by the ward voting 1,500 majority against it. These two aldermen took the same attitude as Mayor William Hale Thompson and the city voted 20,000 against it. The votes of the Second Ward backed up our two aldermen in splendid fashion, showing that the people of this powerful ward have implicit confidence in their judgment. Party organization, good team work, confidence in their leaders, made the Second Ward go "over the top" in the election on Tuesday.

Missouri Legislature

The Montgomery Associated Press.
ST. LOUIS, MO., Nov. 9.—William M. Riley, negro, of St. Louis, is said to be the first of his race ever elected to the State Legislature. He was elected Tuesday in the Fourth District by Republicans over his Democratic white opponent, complete returns showing the district is largely populated by whites.

SPENDS \$10 IN HIS

RACE FOR CONGRESS

The Rev. George Frazier Miller, pastor of St. Augustine's P. E. Church, Brooklyn, has filed his post-election statement with the clerk of the House of Representatives, showing that he received \$10 and spent a similar amount to be elected to Congress from the Harlem District on the Socialist ticket. In his statement the Rev. Mr. Miller says he received \$10 on October 29, from Miss Florence Kelly and that it was transferred to the Socialist Party Campaign Committee of New York County.

Roberts Wins Seat in

California Legislature

Los Angeles, Cal., Nov. 22.—Fred M. Roberts, editor of the New Age, was elected to the California Legislature over his opponent, Gayhart (white) by a majority of 726 votes. Gayhart attempted to appeal to race prejudice and slide into office. He covered the entire district, which is mostly populated by whites, with cards reading, "My Opponent Is a Nigger." Mr. Roberts is the first man of his race to be elected to the position in the state. He formerly was a school principal at Mount Bavon, Miss.

DR. JOSEPH L. JOHNSON NEW

MINISTER TO LIBERIA

DR. JOSEPH L. JOHNSON OF COLUMBUS, Ohio, has been appointed minister resident to Liberia. Dr. Johnson was for some years special examiner for the U. S. Pension Bureau. Mr. Richard C. Bunday, of Cincinnati, Ohio, is now serving as secretary of the American Legation at Monrovia, Liberia.

City Councilman H. M. St. Clair, of

Cambridge, Mass., has been re-elected to serve another term. He is

Grand Master of Exchequer of the

Maryland Grand Lodge, Knights of

Pythias.

Records - R

E. A. Robinson, president of the Negro Tenth Ward Republican Club, Kansas City, Mo., has come out in a statement that the members are opposed to the nomination of a colored man for alderman at this time, as the move would not be beneficial to the best interests of the race.

WATSON, N. L. GUARDIAN
SEPTEMBER 25, 1918

COLORED PREACHER

ELECTED A JUSTICE

One of the minor local surprises handed out in yesterday's primary election was the defeat of Philip Greenberg, Republican, for the nomination as Justice of the Peace in the Fourth Ward by the Rev. W. Fillmore Smith, colored preacher and editor of The Watchword, a newspaper for colored people. The returns show that the Rev. Smith was returned a winner over Mr. Greenberg by something like fifty votes.

ST. JOSEPH MO PRESS

APRIL 4, 1918

The fiercest battle in Chicago Tuesday was that between two negroes, Robert R. Jackson and Oscar D. Priest, for alderman in the Second ward, known as the "black belt." Each of the candidates had 1,000 men working at the polling places, and there was much wool pulling and the police were frequently called upon to stop rioting. Jackson was the winner of the fight.

SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN

JANUARY 24, 1918

There seems to be a bare chance that a Negro will be elected to Congress from the 21st New York district, which has many Negro voters. If Rev. Reverdy Ransom, the Negro candidate nominated by the United Civic League, is the best one of the candidates, he ought to be elected. His color should not count against him—or in his favor.

Maryland City Re-elects

Race Man on Council Board

Cambridge, Md., Aug. 2.—City Councilman H. M. St. Clair has been re-elected to serve another term. He is one of the best known men in the state, and is grand master of exchequer of the Maryland Grand Lodge, Knights of Pythias. He was unopposed.

ST. LOUIS POST-REPUBLICAN

OCTOBER 10, 1918

Negro Organizer Honored.

Robert R. Wright, former United States consul to Venezuela, who has been an organizer among Negroes for the promotion of food conservation in Iowa, has been chosen by Governor Harding to attend the Negro National Educational congress to be held in New York City, Oct. 9 to 11.

OUR WAR CORRESPONDENT.

Ralph W. Tyler, formerly Auditor for the Navy Department, and a citizen of Columbus, Ohio, the inaugurator of the great National Soldiers' Comfort Committee, has been made war correspondent by General Pershing. Mr. Tyler at the time of his appointment was the associate editor of The Bee. A more brilliant writer does not exist in the country. He is the greatest colored newspaper correspondent of the United States.

Mr. Tyler has made a greater sacrifice than any other man in this country, white or colored. Aside from going to the front, he has three sons enlisted in the Service who are today on the battlefield of France. It requires a brave man to face the shells of the Huns and be on the firing line. This is the first newspaper representative the colored race has ever had, and The Bee is to be congratulated because he is its representative in the greatest war of the age.

Mr. Tyler will do his duty and his reports from the battle front will be accurate and brilliant. This appointment may be a surprise to the country, but not to The Bee. It has been expected for several weeks, and at last it has come. The Bee has always said that Ralph W. Tyler at the time he represented this Government in the Navy Department under the Roosevelt and Taft administrations was one man who was the master of his office. He was no trimmer, no apologist, and neither did he cater to the whims of politicians to retain his office. His efforts were to serve his people, and he did serve them, for which he received but little credit or consideration. As a newspaper writer, Mr. Tyler will fill the bill. As a correspondent, he has no equals, white or black. His services on The Bee were highly appreciated, and when this great war is concluded he will be mentioned among the greatest journalists of the age and the colored American race will honor him.

NAME ADDITIONAL

LIST OF SPEAKERS
(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.)
Washington, D. C.—The list of colored speakers to present the war aims of the Government to colored Americans has been increased from sixty to one hundred.

The additional list of speakers follows:

Bishop Benjamin F. Lee, senior bishop of the A. M. E. Church, Wilberforce, Ohio; Bishop Charles Henry Phillips, Bishop of the C. M. E. Church, Nashville; Bishop John Hurst, Bishop of the A. M. E. Church, Baltimore; Dr. Henry L. Phillips, Archdeacon of the P. E. Church, Philadelphia; Prof. W. S. Scarborough, President of Wilberforce University, Wilberforce; William H. Steward, editor The American Baptist, Louisville; Rev. John Albert Williams, editor The Monitor, Omaha; John C. Dancy, secretary Church Extension Board, A. M. E. Zion Church, Washington, D. C.; Dr. James S. Russell, President St. Paul's Normal and Industrial Institute, Lawrenceville, Va.; I. Garland Penn,

Corresponding Secretary Freedmen's Aid Society, M. E. Church, Cincinnati; John Mitchell, Jr., Editor The Planet, Richmond; Samuel W. Green, Grand Chancellor, Knights of Pythias, New Orleans; Dr. M. W. Dogan, President Wiley University, Marshall, Tex.; Prof. William Pickens, Vice-President of Morgan College, Baltimore; John H. Murphy, editor of the Afro-American, Baltimore; George L. Knox, publisher The Freeman, Indianapolis; A. E. Manning, editor The World, Indianapolis; Dr. Sumner A. Furniss, member City Council, Indianapolis; Armond W. Scott, Grand Exalted Ruler, Order of Elks, Washington, D. C.; E. M. Hewless, Washington, D. C.; Henry Lassiter, Washington, D. C.; R. L. Smith, President Farmers' Improvement Society, Waco, Tex.; Walter J. Singleton, President Mu-So-Lit Club, Washington, D. C.; W. P. Kemp, editor The Leader, Detroit; W. E. Mollison, Chicago; J. Gray Lucas, Chicago; Charles H. Anderson, President Anderson & Company, Bankers, Jacksonville, Fla.; Geo. A. Myers, Cleveland; William Warley, editor Louisville News, Louisville; Wil-

liam T. Francis, St. Paul, Minn.; A. E. Meyzeek, principal Colored Normal School, Louisville; Henry Lincoln Johnson, Atlanta; Rev. J. Francis Robinson, field secretary of National Baptist Convention (incorporated), Chicago; James J. Manuel, Denver; R. B. Hudson, secretary National Baptist Convention (incorporated), Selma, Ala.; Clarence W. Allen, president Press Publishing Company, Mobile, Ala.; Dr. A. F. Owens, Dean Theological Department, Selma University; Dr. E. T. Belsam, Secretary Executive Board, National Medical Association, Mobile, Ala.; Dr. Byrd Prillerman, president, West Virginia Collegiate Institute; Roscoe Conkling Bruce, Assistant Superintendent Public Schools, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Richard Carroll, Columbia, S. C.; T. Thomas Fortune, Secretary State Migrant Welfare Commission, Trenton; Robert L. Vann, editor The Courier, Pittsburgh; Chris J. Perry, President National Negro Association, Philadelphia; Dr. R. S. Wilkinson, President Normal Industrial and Mechanical College, Orangeburg, S. C.; James A. Ross, publisher, Buffalo; Dr. W. W. Lucas, General Officer, M. E. Church, Meridian, Miss.

TWO GRIGGS BROTHERS IN THE LITERARY AND POETICAL WORLD.

Rev. Sutton E. Griggs, D. D., who was reared in Dallas, educated in her public schools, graduated at Bishop college, Marshall, Texas and at the Union University, Richmond, Va., the Memphis Daily Scimitar has the following to say about him and his work.

"REV. SUTTON GRIGGS ASKED TO SERVE U. S.

Negro Divine to Give War Aims of Nation.

Rev. Sutton E. Griggs, 569 East Georgia avenue, has been paid an unusual compliment in being requested by the War Department and the speaking division of the committee on public information to serve the nation by enlightening Negro public opinion as to the war aims of the government, such service to be rendered by delivering addresses, writing articles and otherwise stimulating the patriotism of the Negro people.

Dr. Griggs will accept the offer which will not interfere to any great extent with his church work in the city.

"There is no work," says Arthur E. Bestor, director of the spaking division, "aside from military service and direct war work, which exceeds in importance the creation and mobilization of the public which shall back up the government in the prosecution of the war. The issue of this struggle depends to a large extent on the way public opinion in the

United States is stimulated and directed. It is a task which can be performed only by men and women who themselves are well informed and who co-operate with all patriotic organizations, governmental and private, which are unifying public opinion in support of the national purpose."

A few weeks ago Dr. Griggs' book, which has had an extensive sale, was adopted by the city board of education for use in the public schools. He recently addressed a meeting of white people at the Central high school and is regarded as a speaker of power and influence.

April 4, 1918.

JUDGE HARRISON URGES PATRIOTISM

ASKS WHITES TO DEFER JUDGMENT—FIFTY YEARS HARDLY TIME TO GET UP—STIRRING ADDRESS

(From the Birmingham News.)

"We are asking that our white friends grant a continuance of the case, that they postpone judgment against the Negro race. Fifty years is hardly time enough to get up and wash our faces, and if a continuance of the case against us is granted we will come out with colors flying," said Judge William Harrison, Negro lawyer of Oklahoma City, who is giving his services to the government. Judge Harrison addressed an audience at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, and this small crowd of people he characterized as the better class of Negroes.

Judge Harrison delivered what is termed the most eloquent address heard in Birmingham by the Negroes. He reviewed the strides the Negro race has made since given their freedom fifty years ago, and said that "we have made fairly good progress, and with the assistance of friends of the white race we will make better progress in the future."

He begged that the Negroes in Birmingham adapt themselves to "the new order of things" that will come from the world-war. Judge Harrison asked for the co-operation of the newspapers, and regretted that "Negroes in trouble get wide publicity, when the good things done by our race are forgotten."

Negroes, he said, have fought for their country in every important battle. "At New Orleans the big Negroes begged their commanding officers to make breast-works of their bodies, and at Carrizal they fought like wild men. They guard the mansion of the biggest man in the United States—the President. I want the members of my race to be

in the front ranks on the Western front. I want them to do a little bit better than all others. I want this to happen because I am a Negro."

The Negroes showed the speaker they are interested in the great war. The applause was loud and occasionally a Negro in the audience yelled, "You're right."

McADOO A POINTS LAWYER HARRISON

Oklahoma City, Okla.—Another honor has been bestowed upon Judge Wm. Harrison of this city, as disclosed in the announcement made public in the Daily Oklahoma of this city last week. Lawyer Harrison, who has been styled very often as the greatest living Negro orator, was notified that he had been designated by Mr. W. G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, to make a speaking tour of the south in the interest of the war saving campaign. The notice was sent from Washington, D. C., and is regarded here as the highest possible recognition of Judge Harrison's ability as a platform speaker. Only recently the Oklahoma Bar Association, of which Mr. E. G. McAdams is president, adopted ringing resolutions in favor of Judge Harrison, commending him to the President of the United States and powers at Washington for any service possible. Judge Harrison delivered the principal address at the Lincoln Birthday Celebration at Springfield and Danville, Ill., and is now enroute to Washington, D. C., where he is to receive his final instructions as to his work. Another message ordering Judge Harrison to Washington came from Mr. Charles F. Horner, the Director of the Speakers' Bureau at Washington. Much rejoicing has been occasioned here as Judge Harrison was regarded as one of the little R. F. D's about whom so much has been said for the past several years.

CRAIG ELIMINATED
Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.
Washington, D. C.—In the plan of reorganization of the Educational Division, United States Food Administration, the coming war has been decided to discontinue the Negro press section; therefore, the services of A.

U. Craig, formerly in charge of that section, are no longer being used in connection with the United States Food Administration.

There is being maintained, however, under the States Administration, a Negro section whose functions will include the direction of Negro activity under the auspices of the United States Food Administration throughout the country.

Mr. Craig also was recently eliminated from the Washington (D. C.) Public School System, the Board of Education declaring a vacancy based upon charges of "inefficiency."

Office Holding

SEVERAL AMERICAN STATES HAVE HONORED RACE MEN WITH POLITICAL POSITIONS

Not only have the colored citizens of this country right to rejoice because of the republican landslide, but as several colored men were elected to represent their districts in several state legislatures our cause for elevation is greater.

Illinois Elects Three Race Men.

Illinois will have three colored men in its state legislature in the persons of Hon. Adelbert H. Roberts, Hon. Warren G. Douglass and Editor S. B. Turner, who were elected from the Chicago district. Mr. Roberts is a widely known orator and clerk in the municipal court. Mr. Douglass is a lawyer of splendid literary attainments and Mr. Turner is editor of the Illinois Idea, this being his second time to grace the legislature of the Prairie State.

Missouri Elects One Race Man.

The legislature of the "Show Me" state will be honored by the presence of one colored man, the successful candidate being Dr. William M. Riley, an optometrist of St. Louis, who was elected over a white democratic opponent from a district that polls a heavy white vote and in the face of stern and subtle opposition. Mr. Charles H. Turpin, St. Louis, was elected constable of the fourth district of that city.

California Elects Race Assemblyman.

Real simon pure democracy reigned in the 74th district of California and as a consequence Hon. Frederick Madison Roberts was elected to represent this district in the State assembly for the next two years. Notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Rob-

erts won the republican nomination at the August primaries in which nomination is always equivalent to an election, strong efforts were made to defeat him on no other issue than race prejudice. His independent opponent gum-shoed around the district passing out his cards, written on the back thereof "My opponent is a nigger." All decent and respectable American citizens resented this dark-age method of seeking votes and the genuine American citizen was overwhelmingly elected.

Three Race Men Win in West Virginia.

Resulting from Tuesday's election three colored men will have seats in the lower house, when West Virginia's legislature convenes next January, rivaling the record of any state since the days of reconstruction. The successful candidates, nominated in primaries and elected on the republican ticket, are: Hons. J. V. Coleman of Fayette County, formerly postmaster at Kimberly, now engaged in the production of coal; H. J. Capehart of McDowell County, an attorney-at-law, and T. G. Nutter, former Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks and at present Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias. Mr. Nutter is also an attorney. Both Fayette and McDowell counties have had colored legislators before, the former three and the latter one, but at no time has there been more than one colored representative in the legislature. The nomination and election of these men is considered remarkable for the fact that in none of the counties which they represent is there a majority of colored voters. The per-

cent in McDowell being 34, Fayette 22 and Kanawha 10.

Expect Meeting to Give Line on Edge Strength

Republicans View Session May 17 as Showing Governor's Essex

Support Against Colgate.
NEWARK N J NEWS
APRIL 30, 1918
Opposition to Woolston Hinted

Politicians in Discussing Situation
Link Names of Raymond and Pilgrim as Possible Candidates for Governor Next Year, with Crawley Mentioned as County Chairmanship Timber.

Just how strong the sentiment is for Governor Edge in Essex County for the Republican nomination for United States Senator against former State Senator Austen H. Colgate may come out May 17 at a meeting of the executive committee of the Republican County Committee. While County Chairman John B. Woolston has not sent out the notices as yet, he said last night that he would call a session on that date.

Whatever the outcome may be, it will be of interest not only to the Republicans of the State, but to the Democrats as well. It will give both side an opportunity to get an idea of the way the voters feel in Mr. Colgate's home county toward the Governor taking up the Senatorship.

Although the county chairman would not admit the real object of calling the meeting, he said that the executive members might talk about the United States Senate. He confessed that he couldn't really tell what would be talked about, but added that the executive committee usually gets together about this time of the year to talk over the political situation.

"That means that the Senatorship question will come up then?" Mr. Woolston was asked.

"I presume it will," he responded.

Fair Division Is Seen.

If the talk on the street is any indication there will be a pretty fair division of the sentiment between the Governor and Mr. Colgate. George L. Record of Hudson, who is also making a fight for the nomination, will not be noticed here. It's either Edge or Colgate.

And back of the break over the two candidates are rumors to the effect that an attempt will be made to take the county chairmanship away from Mr. Woolston. In this connection the politicians drift into the gubernatorial fight that comes along next year and link the names of City Commissioner Thomas L. Raymond and State Senator Charles C. Pilgrim. Milton E. Crawley is mentioned as the successor to Mr. Woolston.

How near this information is to being right is hard to fathom, but it was learned in some circles that there might be something to it. Those whose names are connected with it deny all knowledge of the gossip. Nevertheless, the rumor is current that Commis-

sioner Raymond is to line up with Sheriff John R. Flavell and County Counsel Herbert W. Taylor to try and wrest control of the county committee.

Mr. Crawley is private secretary to the sheriff and prior to that was secretary to the last Police Board under Mr. Raymond when the latter was Mayor. Mr. Crawley was also corresponding secretary of the county committee for some time.

Friends Urging Raymond.

Although he has not announced himself as a candidate for Governor, the friends of Mr. Raymond are urging him to enter the contest next year for the Republican nomination. It is doubtful if he would refuse to make the run if he could get the support of the organization, particularly in Essex. With the aid of the sheriff and the county counsel this could probably be done. That's one of the reasons why, it is said, Mr. Crawley is being groomed for the chairmanship. Mr. Raymond has already come out publicly for Governor Edge for United States Senator.

Only recently the executive committee of the Second Ward Republican Club at its annual dinner started what might be regarded as a boom for Senator Pilgrim for Governor next year. The Senator has many friends in the county committee who would like to see him become a candidate.

It isn't likely anything will be done at the meeting May 17 about discussing Assembly candidates or the four men who will be placed on the freeholder's ticket. In addition to the terms of the three freeholders which expire this year, a fourth candidate will be elected to fill the unexpired term caused by the death of Francis B. Knott. The three freeholders whose terms end are: Director Alexander Clark of Orange and William Pennington and Thomas W. Smith of this city.

Mr. Woolston thinks that it is too early at this stage to talk about these candidates. He is opposed to having a long campaign and he declared that such would be the case if the men were mentioned now. He suggested that July 4 was time enough to get this work under way, but said that he supposed the committee would thresh the matter out at the June meeting.

Colored Voters "Recommend" Orange Negro for Assembly

Did about 200 colored voters representing seven of eight political organizations in the county violate the corrupt practices act last night in convention at 21 Nesbitt street by "recommending" Hamilton Travis, colored, of Orange, as their choice for nomination in the Republican Assembly ticket in the primaries this fall?

Under Section 20, the act says that "it shall be unlawful for any state, county committee or organization of any political party prior to any primary election to indorse the candidacy of any candidate for a party nomination or position."

The convention did not indorse Mr. Travis, but recommended that he be the choice. The vote was unanimous. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Essex County Republican Association, Inc. The convention raised \$120.50 for his campaign.

Ald. Anderson Stirs City Council in Able Address

In the city council on last Friday a special meeting was held, called for the purpose of considering the question of authorizing the attorney spe-

cially employed by the city council in the gas litigation to request injunction proceedings to restrain the public utilities commission from enforcing the increased rate of gas ordered by them after a prolonged hearing. The wisdom of the attorney apparently was not questioned by the rank and file of the members of the city council. There were, however, some spirited objections to the continuance of Donald R. Richberg, who has been handling the gas litigation on behalf of the city and the 600,000 gas consumers during the past four years. Mayor Thompson, when the session of the council convened, had the clerk read a message in which he called the city council's attention to the fact that little or no progress had been made in this litigation by Attorney Donald R. Richberg and recommended that the city council employ new and more competent legal counsel. The temper of the city council being then, as before, hostile to Mayor Thompson, paid little or no heed to the advice given in his message. When the matter of the resolution was presented authorizing the further employment of Attorney Richberg, Alderman Louis B. Anderson delivered a vigorous speech in opposition to his continuance as counselor. A stenographic report of his speech by the official stenographer of the city council was furnished the Defender. It follows:

ALD. L. B. ANDERSON: Mr. President, this is probably the only opportunity that I will get to express myself on this question of substitution of counsel. I quite agree with the communication of the mayor to the effect that the city council in this litigation is without competent counsel. I hold no brief for the mayor nor anyone else on earth in what I say in justification of my stand that we need competent counsel. I took occasion—but parenthetically let me say that since I have been a member of the city council there is no question that has attracted my attention more than this question that is involved in the gas litigation—some time ago to give expression by the city council with respect to this litigation and counsel involved. I now rise for the purpose of going into the details again with respect to this matter. Yesterday I looked up in this case some of the facts. Now, in effect, we are here today to comply with, or reject, an application of special counsel for leave, or authority, to begin new litigation involving this gas question; and he sets out in the printed statement of his case certain points in support of his contentions that a bill ought to be filed to restrain the public utilities commission from enforcing this new rate. That of necessity requires us, and we are called upon to determine whether or not we should proceed further, and if we are to proceed further, what shall be the method and who shall do it. In a sense we are the board of directors of a corporation, and we are receiving a report from our lawyer. Any private corporation in a like situation would deliberate carefully upon the question as to whether or not counsel employed by it had done the things required in a manner and in a way that made for the best interest of the client, and in this case the city of Chicago is the client. Now let us see where we are, where we have gone, what we have done, and then let us briefly advert to results.

(A point of order was raised by Ald.

A. A. McCormick to effect that a mo-

tion to table was not debatable, and the point of order was sustained by the president. The motion to table and if the Tribune is right, I read when that application was made, that on the original motion, in casting his vote Ald. L. B. Anderson resumed and made the following remarks:

ALD. L. B. ANDERSON. Now, Mr. President, we are here, as I started to tell you, in the nature of a board of directors, receiving the report of our counsel, and we are asked to go further. It is the proper field of inquiry to ascertain what that counsel has done, whether or not he has done it in a manner and in a way that conforms to our notions of what is right.

We have expended here in this litigation involving over ten years, or nearly ten years, approximately \$500,000, four years of which Mr. Donald R. Richberg has been engaged. The records show that in moneys paid to him as counsel, and unpaid, for which he has already put in a claim, the sum of \$39,843.30. His assistant, Mr. Plumb, has had and is expecting a total of \$26,599.50, making a grand total of \$66,442.80. In addition to that we have expended for experts over \$400,000; approximately a half a million dollars has been paid out in this case without any appreciable results. Results—litigation pending in the Circuit court on an original bill filed by the gas company, which sought to have the city restrained from fixing a rate which they contended was unreasonable. That case is at issue, and after having gotten it at issue, it was recently continued to be taken up again when the courts convene in the fall.

A cross-bill was filed some time ago by the city, and here is something you ought to know. Do not go pell-mell into this thing without being advised. As an humble member of the Cook county bar, let me give you some information that your high-priced counsel has not given you. A cross-bill was filed by the city on behalf of the gas consumers which sought to recover the supposed \$10,000,000. The gas company filed a demurrer to the city's cross-bill, which still remains undisposed of. Now, we are supposed to have been fighting for the \$10,000,000 due the poor taxpayer—the poor consumers, the 600 odd thousand consumers. Every time we talk we talk about the poor consumer, but what has the poor consumer gotten here? Nothing but a cross-bill by the city on behalf of the consumers not yet at issue; and, gentlemen and you lawyers who are members of the city council, listen to this; not one consumer—I repeat, not one consumer of the 600,000 involved—has intervened in this lawsuit upon that cross-bill. The only definite amount involved in the cross-bill is \$72,754, and that represents the claim of the city of Chicago. Meanwhile, for the information of Mr. Richberg, if he should be continued in this litigation, the statute of limitations is running, and when present counsel for consumers gets ready to get in there by way of an intervening petition for consumers, it may be that the statute of limitations has run on them, and they will not be able to recover any part of this will-o'-the-wisp \$10,000,000 in pursuit of which we have expended already \$500,000. Is not that a proper field of inquiry, and does it not go into the question of competent counsel? Is it not a matter that we should consider? Is it not really a matter that we should take into consideration in determining the question as to whether or not we

limited time.

ALD. L. B. ANDERSON: I will be through in a minute, because I know just as sure as I stand here that what I am saying, so far as the result of this vote is concerned, is falling on deaf ears; I know it, but I could not increase. His statement here now is to my intelligence if I did not offer a protest here. The gas company sought that they had no jurisdiction; if he is right now he was wrong then. If a 30 per cent increase, and they got practically all they wanted, but even since Richberg has been in this litigation it has been the pursuit of the "golden fleece," and every time this council has under consideration any question with reference to this litigation it has been with regard to either Mr. Richberg's fees or some power or authority to continue to earn fees. Fees, fees, fees, are the sole consideration of Richberg, and the gas consumers are camouflaged all through this litigation, when the truth of the matter is, as the record discloses, not one gas consumer is in the case. The only case where a gas consumer has intervened was in the nature of an original suit in the Municipal court by a man named Sutter, and the amount involved there is \$2.12, and it has gone to the Supreme court; and yet the charge lies at the door of the corporation counsel of hampering and hampering Richberg. There could be no hampering when \$66,000 has been drawn out of the public treasury by Richberg and his aids. We who are lawyers know that pleadings in any kind of litigation could be settled in four years; but not so here; the longer the litigation the more fees, and after all and in the last analysis of my humble opinion, the only concern that Richberg has in this matter is the pursuit of the "golden fleece."

Mr. President, I know that I am availing little here. I am conscious of the fact that all I have said, however logically or eloquently, will meet with rebuttal when it comes of the yeas and nays; I know it. I am sensibly appreciative of my limitations. I know that your minds are made up, but this one thing you will say of Alderman Anderson from the Second ward, that he pointed out the way; he showed you the light, and finally let me say in the words of another—"there are none so blind as those who will not see." I vote "no." (Applause.)

After Ald. Anderson had finished his address the gallery, which was crowded, vigorously applauded him and many members of the city council came over to his desk and congratulated him upon the forceful and eloquent manner in which he arraigned the gas litigation attorney. "I have been a member of the city council for 25 years," said Ald. John Powers to a Defender reporter, "and I have no hesitancy in saying that the speech of Ald. Anderson on gas litigation was the most eloquent and logical one that has been made in that body during my entire aldermanic career."

ST. LOUIS WILL ELECT NEGRO CANDIDATES

THE RACE IS DETERMINED TO USE ITS FULL STRENGTH TO GAIN PLACES OF REAL WORTH FOR WORTHY MEN.

(By J. M. Batchman.)

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Oct. 24.—This town is beginning to wake up to the task which will be required to elect its Colored candidates in the November election. The epidemic of the Spanish influenza held things down for a time, but as the disease has about lost its momentum, the political leaders have taken up new courage and are making strenuous efforts to put over their candidates with a whoop. Men of affairs are determined to send Attorney Phillips over a winner in the race for justice of the peace, and Charles Turpin for constable. There are other colored men in the various contests, but these being the strongest, good politics demand that effort should be centered on them.

In the August primaries, the race lost much of its faith in the fairness of the Republican party; it is true that this loss of confidence which enabled the Democrats two years ago to poll 32 per cent of the entire Negro vote of the city, has been lately accentuated by the failure of local politicians in Republican ranks to encourage Negro aspirants to elective office with their support, or to grant recognition to Negro appointees in proportion to the strength of the Negro vote. Many leaders of worth attribute this to the natural antipathy of the German-American leaders to the Negro generally. They point to the fact the Republican party here is dominated soul and body by German citizens whose greatest strength lies in South St. Louis, the German end of the city, where employment to Negro men and women is at a premium. The deeds of these leaders of German descent toward the Negro have been such as to demand no sacrifice to themselves, and consequently are not such as can be given much value on the credit side of the political ledger. The Negroes have been so sadly ignored and "flim-flamed," that they have become tired of conditions and are out to get what they want through the weight of their votes. This is to be done not merely because their candidates are Negroes but also because they are the very best qualified men in their districts running for their respective offices.

Attorney Homer G. Phillips has practiced law in St. Louis for a number of years; he is a man of large racial pride and high professional and intellectual attainments. His friends believe he was squeezed out of the nomination for Justice of the Peace in the August primaries by Republican machinations, and have caused him to file for the office as an independent candidate. Mr. Charles Turpin, proprietor of the Booker Washington Theater, once held the office of constable of the Fourth district, was re-elected to it, and then in a contest for the seat was not given the support by the Republican city committee which the colored people believe he deserved, with the result a Democrat held the place during the entire term. On another occasion the office of Justice of the Peace was vacated by a Republican, Frank Slater, who has profited politically through the support of Negro voters, and At-

torney Vaughn, now a commissioned officer in the National Army, was an aspirant for the place. The choosing of a successor for Slater was up to seventeen circuit judges, thirteen of whom were Republicans, but though Vaughn had the united support of the colored people in the district in which Slater was at the time city committeeman, these thirteen Republican judges selected McChesney, one of Slater's friends, for the place. Besides these distasteful things, the color line was drawn recently in the waiting room of the new city jail; in the last campaign the Republican party under Huckride established a "Jim Crow" Republican campaign headquarters in the International Life Building and went so far as to have the front windows shut up so a view of the interior could not be seen from the street, and other concessions have been denied the colored people of the city by Republican leaders in tennis courts and in swimming pools. These things have gone on until the voters see the necessity of duly elected colored men in positions of public trust. In this connection Congressman Dyer is not without criticism because he defeated Dr. Charles H. Phillips for a place the Negro thought he ought to have. Colored men were also sent to the last Republican National Convention at Chicago merely as alternates thinking thus to appease our desire for recognition.

Attorney Phillips and Mr. Turpin are Republicans and men of the highest reputation. The Negro voters want to see them elected and will not countenance farther those white Republicans who deny them their whole hearted support. The district is composed of 30 per cent Negro voters and they should go over with a whoop. Our entire registered city vote is 15,802.

NEGRO WILL TAKE PLACE IN 1919 LEGISLATURE

SAN FRANCISCO CAL. ECHO
SEPTEMBER 8, 1918

The California State Legislature of 1919 will have the distinction of numbering among its members, four women and a negro. It will be the first time a woman has been among the law-making body and also the first time a colored man has enjoyed that honor.

The women are: Mrs. Elizabeth Hughes of the Seventh District, residing at Oroville.

Anna M. Saylor of the Forty-first District, residing at Berkeley, Alameda county.

Esto Broughton of the Forty-sixth District, residing at Modesto, Stanislaus county.

Grace S. Dorris of the Fifty-sixth District, residing at 2130 Park Way, Bakersfield, Kern county.

Each of these was on both tickets and they were practically elected at the primaries.

The negro, who secured the nomination on the Republican ticket, is Frederick M. Roberts of the Seventy-fourth District, residing at 1121 South Los Angeles street, Los Angeles. The district is populated for the most part by people of his own race and is strongly Republican.

Office Holding

Office Holding
Specific Petition Filed

8-23-18.

Read By All Colored Voters Especially.

Jefferson Circuit Court, Common Pleas
Branch, Fourth Division.—112,719.

Wm. Warley, plaintiff and Contestant,
vs. Lewis Ryan, Defendant and
Contestee.

In accordance with the order of the Court requiring the plaintiff and contestant to make his notice of contest herein more specific, the plaintiff and contestant, William Warley, says:

That the number of lawfully qualified voters voting in said primary election in said city, ward and district whose votes were cast for the plaintiff and contestant was 510, and the number cast for conteste was 89.

Plaintiff and contestant further states that the 21st precinct of the Tenth ward of said city and Legislative district, in said primary election, J. Edwin Hawley served as Republican Republican sheriff, and in said precinct judge and Byers Lunn served as the during said primary that contestee had working for him and in his behalf one Baldy Johnson, whom plaintiff and contestant is informed runs a poker game at Third and Walnut streets in the city of Louisville, and one Wolf, a license inspector for the city of Louisville; that Wolf, acting in behalf of the contestees, brought repeaters to said primary election held in said precinct, that is to say, persons who were not lawfully qualified voters therein by reason of the fact that they were not residents of said precinct or ward or legislative district, and were not registered therein, and that said repeaters voted in said primary in said precinct for the defendant and contestee under the names of Tom Mothershead, Steve Camp, Walter Duncan, G. Durrett, C. Murphy, William Taylor, Lot Overton, J S Metton, J H Roberts, Ben Slaughter, George Wright, John Sublett, Walter Duncan, Don Doyle, Wil Jaxon, J S Matton, C H Wolf, Edward Winston, John Parker, Will Fracar, Alexander, H. Ruell, E Dishran, C

Smith and E R Hawley, and that said act of said election officers the vote of twenty-five alleged votes cast by said repeater was counted for the repeaters and unqualified voters underfendant and contestee.

the aforesaid twenty-five names were wrongfully and unlawfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestee, and that each of said ballots cast by said repeaters under the aforesaid names were examined by said Wolf before being placed in the ballot box, to ascertain for whom they had voted; that said election officers knew that said 25 repeaters voting under the aforesaid names were repeaters and fraudulently and wrongfully permitted said repeaters to vote in said primary election and plaintiff says that neither of said 25 voters whose ballots were exhibited to and examined by said Wolf before being deposited in said ballot box was, by inability to read the English language, unable to mark his ballot, nor blind, nor physically disabled so to be unable to mark his ballot; and plaintiff and contestant further says that in said 21st precinct of said Tenth ward and 58th Legislative district, that he received the votes of 30 qualified voters entitled to vote in said election, and that the contestee Ryans received the vote of only one qualified voter and that said election officers wrongfully counted said ballots and wrongfully certified the result of the vote of said precinct.

Plaintiff and contestant says that one Harry Campbell was wrongfully and unlawfully permitted by said election officers to vote in said primary election, and that his vote was wrongfully and unlawfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestee; that the said Harry Campbell was not registered as a voter in said precinct and his name did not appear on the registration books of said precinct, and that for this reason he was not entitled to vote therein. And plaintiff further says that in said 22nd precinct of said Tenth ward and 58th legislative district he received the votes of 19 qualified voters entitled to vote in said election and the contestee and defendant received the votes of only 8 qualified voters, and that said election officers wrongfully counted said ballots and wrongfully certified the result of the vote in said precinct.

Plaintiff and contestant further states that in the 23rd precinct of the Tenth ward, and 58th legislative district, in said primary election, J. R. Miller served as Republican judge and E M Wallace served as the Republican sheriff; that the defendant and contestee or persons acting in his behalf whose

Plaintiff and contestant says that in names are unknown to plaintiff and the 22nd precinct of the Tenth ward, contestant, brought repeaters to said 25th legislative district, S. S. Kean, primary election held in said precinct, was the Republican judge and J. F. that is to say, persons who were not by the Republican clerk; that by lawfully qualified voters therein by procurement of the defendant and reason of the fact that they were not and his supporters a repeater residents of said precinct or ward or er, that is to say a person who was legislative district and were not registered therein, and that said repeaters not a lawfully qualified voter in said election by reason of the fact that he voted for the lefenlant and contestee was not a resident of said precinct and in said primary election in said pre- ward, said repeater's name being un- cinct under the names of Ambrose known to plaintiff and contestant, was Cherry and Louis Louis, and that said brought to said precinct and caused to two alleged votes cast by said repeat- vote for the defendant and contestee ers and unqualified voters under the in said election under the name of Will aforesaid names were wrongfully and Allen; that by the fraud and wrongful

unlawfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestee; result of the vote in said precinct. that in said precinct one Geo. Woodcock was permitted by said election officers to vote and did vote for the defendant and contestee and his vote was wrongfully and unlawfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestee, notwithstanding the fact that the said Woodcock was not a registered voter in said precinct and his name did not appear on the registration books of said precinct; that in said precinct one Abraham Miller was permitted by said election officers to vote and did vote for the defendant and contestee, and his vote was wrongfully and unlawfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestee notwithstanding the fact the said Miller was not a registered voter in said precinct and his name did not appear on the registration books of said precinct; that in said precinct one W A Miller was permitted by said election officers to vote and did vote for the defendant and contestee and his vote was wrongfully and unlawfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestee notwithstanding the fact the said Miller was not a registered voter in said precinct and his name did not appear on the registration books of said precinct; that in said precinct one Wallace Edward was permitted by said election officers to vote and did vote for the defendant and contestee and his vote was wrongfully and unlawfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestee notwithstanding the fact said Wallace Edward was registered as a Democrat in said precinct and appeared on the registration books of said precinct as a Democrat; that in said precinct one Ralph Williams was permitted by said election officers to vote and did vote for the defendant and contestee and his vote was wrongfully and unlawfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestee notwithstanding the fact said Ralph Williams moved his residence out of said precinct in the month of April, 1919, and was not residing therein at the time of said primary election. And plaintiff and contestant further says that in said 23rd precinct of said Tenth ward and 58th Legislative district he received the votes of nine qualified voters entitled to vote in said election, and that the contestee Ryans received the votes of no qualified voter, and that said election officers wrongfully counted said ballots and wrongfully certified the

Plaintiff and contestant further says in the 24th precinct of the Tenth ward and 58th legislative district in said primary election one Glenn Cantrill served as Republican Judge and Chris Moore served as Republican clerk, and in said precinct during said primary election the contestee and his agents, whose names are unknown to plaintiff and contestant and the said Chris Moore, who was actively interested in seeing that the contestee secured the nomination which he sought, brought repeaters to said primary election held in said precinct, that is to say, persons who were not lawfully qualified voters therein by reason of the fact they were not residents of said precinct or ward or legislative district and were not registered therein, and that said repeaters voted in said primary election in said precinct for the defendant and contestee under the names of William Allison, Robert Allen, Richard Damsey, Ben Ewing, Tom Fisher, Albert Bore, William Jackson, Cornelius Jackson, William Payne, Arthur Simms, Sam Mayfield, Will Smith, John Scott, George E. Williams and John Williams (and that said fifteen alleged votes cast by said repeaters and unqualified voters under the aforesaid fifteen names were wrongfully and unlawfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestees, and that each of said ballots cast by said repeaters under the aforesaid names, together with the ballots of Mack Brown, Alonzo Revers, Jack Farris, Lucas Jones and Eugene Clark, voters in said precinct, were examined by the said Chris Moore to ascertain for whom they had voted before being placed in the ballot box; that said election officers knew that said fifteen repeaters voting under the aforesaid names were repeaters and fraudulently and wrongfully permitted said repeaters to vote in said primary election; and plaintiff and contestant says that neither of said 20 voters whose ballots were examined by the said Moors before being deposited in said ballot box, was, by inability to read the English language unable to mark his ballot, nor blind, nor physically disabled so as to be unable to mark his ballot; plaintiff and contestant further says that Mack Brown, Alonzo Rivers, Jack Farris, Eugene Clark, John Simons and Richard Keys, who were permitted by said election officers to vote in said primary for the

defendant and contestee, and whose names persons to ascertain for whom ballots were examined by said Christy they had voted before placing said ballot box: George Mumford, Clay Chilmoore, as aforesaid, before being deposited in the ballot box, were not entitled to vote in said primary election. Sell Harrison, Robert Lanear, James Sumpter, or Cumpster, Theo. Wiley, Thornton L. Jones, Alanda McKelley, Brown, Alonzo Rivers, Jack Farris, Charles Conner, Ed Jenkins, Sam George E. Williams, Lucas Jones, Eugene Clark, John Simons and Richard Keys were not residents of said precinct nor registered therein and their names did not appear upon the registration books of said precinct, and the said precinct, and the said George E. Williams and Lucas Jones were registered in said precinct as independent voters and appeared on the registration books of said precinct as independent voters, notwithstanding which facts the said Max Brown, Alonzo Rivers, Jack Farris, George E. Williams, Lucas Jones, Eugene Clark, John Simons and Richard Keys were permitted to vote in said primary election for the defendant and contestee and their votes were wrongfully and unlawfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestee; plaintiff and contestant further says that one Chalmers Brown, a duly registered and legally qualified Republican voter of said precinct and ward who, if permitted to vote, would have voted for plaintiff and contestant, was wrongfully and unlawfully refused the right to vote by said election officers notwithstanding the fact he produced his registration certificate; and plaintiff and contestant further says in the said 24th precinct of the 10th ward and 58th legislative district he received the votes of 27 qualified voters entitled to vote in said election and the contestee Ryans did not receive the vote of any qualified voter in said election officers wrongfully and unlawfully counted said ballots and wrongfully certified the result of the vote in said precinct.

Plaintiff and contestant further says in the 25th precinct of the 10th ward and 58th legislative district in the said primary election, Robert Lanier served as Republican Judge and P. R. Peters theretofore convicted in the criminal branch of the Jefferson Circuit Court for unlawfully selling narcotic drugs, served as the Republican clerk; that the said Republican election officers were adherents of the defendant and contestee and interested in seeing that he secured the nomination which he sought; and that said Republican election officers wrongfully and unlawfully and in violation of the law, openly inspected the ballots of the following

tion books of said precinct as independent voters and were not affiliated with the Republican party and were not entitled to vote in the race between the plaintiff and contestee and the defendant and contestee in said primary: Jesse Radford, Steve Burch and William Able; plaintiff and contestant further says that by the procurement of the defendant and contestee and parties acting for him whose names are unknown to the plaintiff and contestant, and with the connivance and acquiescence of said Republican election officers, persons who were not lawfully qualified voters in said precinct by reason of the fact that they were not residents of said precinct or ward or legislative district and were not registered therein, commonly known as repeaters, were brought to said precinct and caused to vote in said primary election for the defendant and contestee under the names of Eugene Lively, Julius Menator, H. Radcliffe, William Woods and Henry Williams, and the votes cast by said repeaters were wrongfully counted by the said Republican election officers for the defendant and contestee; and plaintiff and contestant further says that in said 25th precinct of said 10th ward and 58th legislative district, he received the votes of 57 qualified voters entitled to vote in said election and that the contestee Ryans received the votes of only 8 qualified voters and that said election officers wrongfully counted said ballots and wrongfully certified the result of the vote in said precinct.

Plaintiff and contestant further says that in the 26th precinct of the 10th ward and 58th legislative district, in the said primary election, Lewis Ryans served as Republican judge and Geo. Mitchell served as Republican clerk; that the said Republican election officers were adherents of defendant and contestee and interested in seeing that he secured the nomination which he sought; and that said republican election officers wrongfully and unlawfully and in violation of the law, openly inspected the ballots of the following named persons to ascertain for whom they had voted before placing said ballots in the ballot box: Josh Jones, Harry Hargrave, Jenne Brown, George Taylor, Luceon Harris, Virgil Boons, Thomas Hightower, Charley Bass, George Mitchell, Nathaniel Moore, Sanford Woods, John Fisher, Arthur Frey, William Tucker, Robt Hall, Wm. M. Bohannon, S. Ross, John

Phillips, Calvin Armstrong, Elmore Marks, Chas. Deibold, Arthur Granderson, Louis Turley, Jr., James Johnson, Dan Wortham, Ben. S. Roff, V. C. Palmer, Harry Parker, J. M. Ryans, J. E. Crossman, Rollin Johnson, Sam Henderson, James Green and C. Shawl and plaintiff and contestant say that neither of said persons above named was, by inability to read the English language, unable to mark his ballot, nor blind, nor physically disabled to mark his ballot, and that said republican election officers openly examined said ballots of said named persons to ascertain for whom they had voted, pursuant to a conspiracy and plan on their part to intimidate voters by letting it be known to voters in said precinct that they were ascertaining by inspection of the ballots the person for whom each voter voted, and that said 34 ballots thus examined and inspected and thereby rendered illegal were by said election officers wrongfully and illegally cast and counted for the defendant and contestee; plaintiff and contestant further says that the following named persons who were wrongfully and unlawfully permitted by said Republican election officers to vote in said primary for the defendant and contestee and whose votes were wrongfully and unlawfully counted for said defendant and contestee, were not legally qualified voters in said primary election in said precinct for the reason that they were not registered therein and their names did not appear in the registration books of said precinct: Ed Simpson, R. N. Vaughn, George Burch, Sanford Woods, J. S. Thomson, Mack Taylor, Edward Seabolt, Isaac Scribner, Eddie Strange, Charles Ryans, Harry Hargrove, Nathaniel Moore, Earl McDaniel, Dean Northern, Will Johnson, Lucian Harris, T. E. Crossman, Calvin Armstrong, George Hayden, John Jones; plaintiff and contestant further says that by the procurement of the defendant and contestee and parties acting for him, whose names are unknown to the plaintiff and contestant, and with the connivance and acquiescence of said Republican election officers, persons who were not lawfully qualified voters in said precinct by reason of the fact that they were not residents of said precinct or ward or legislative district and were not registered therein, commonly known repeaters were brought to said precinct and caused to vote in said primary election for the defendant and contestee under the names of

George Perkins, Virgil Bean, Syl Lee, George Hayden, Thomas Gooch, Rev. Moore, J F Moore, M N Moore, N C Palmer, William Smith, S Y Snead, Ed Simpson, Jesse Turner, Louis Ryans, George Perkins, Rich Green, Nace Graves, Arthur Frey, Virgil Roons, Sam Henderson, Robert Hill, Thomas Hightower, Sam Green, John Jones, Louis Lee and W. Montgomery; and the votes cast by said repeaters were wrongfully counted by the said Republican election officers for the defendant and contestee; and plaintiff and contestant further says that in said 26th precinct of the 10th ward and 58th legislative district he received the votes of 53 qualified voters entitled to vote in said precinct and that the defendant and contestee Ryans received the votes of no qualified voter, and that said election officers wrongfully counted said ballots and wrongfully certified the result of the vote in said precinct.

Plaintiff and contestant says that in the 27th precinct of the 10th ward and 58th legislative district, by the connivance of the defendant and his supporters whose names are unknown to the plaintiff, a person not qualified to vote in said election by reason of the fact that he did not live in said precinct in said ward and whose name is unknown to plaintiff, was brought to said precinct and caused to vote for the defendant and contestee under the name of J E Hall; that said unqualified voter's name was not J E Hall, the said J E Hall having died on February 28, 1919, and that said vote was wrongfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestee; plaintiff and contestant further says that in said 27th precinct of the 10th ward and 58th legislative district he received the votes of 60 qualified voters entitled to vote in said election and that the defendant and contestee received the votes of only 3 qualified voters, and that said election officers wrongfully counted said ballots and wrongfully certified the result of the vote in said precinct.

Plaintiff and contestant further says in the 28th precinct of the 10th ward and 58th legislative district, in the said primary election, Jerome McMahon served as Republican judge and C. J. Wallace served as republican clerk and the defendant and contestee and his supporters whose names are unknown to plaintiff, with the connivance of said election officers, brought to

(See next card)

Political - 1918

Office Holding

From foregoing card

Specific Petition, etc.

Louisville News 3/23/18

said primary election held in said precinct repeaters, that is to say, persons who were not qualified voters therein by reason of the fact that they were not residents in said precinct or ward or legislative district and were not registered therein, and that said repeaters voted in said primary election in said precinct for the defendant and contestee under the names of Jerry Cooper, L P Davis, Joe Gray, J R Jones, Dock Strutherfeld, Ben Skinner, Hayden Simms, Lee L Brown, Gus Cain, Henry Goodson, James Murphy, and Robert Bush, and that said twelve alleged votes cast by said repeaters and unqualified voters under the aforesaid twelve names were wrongfully and unlawfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestee; and plaintiff and contestant further says in the said 28th precinct of said 10th ward and 58th legislative district, he received the votes of 70 qualified voters entitled to vote in said election and that the defendant and contestee received the votes of only 9 qualified voters, and that said election officers wrongfully counted said ballots and wrongfully certified the result of the vote in said precinct.

Plaintiff and contestant says in the 29th precinct of the 10th ward and 58th legislative district in said primary election, John Patrick was the Republican judge and E. D. Whedbee was the Republican sheriff; and in said precinct during said primary election the contestee and his supporters whose names are unknown to the plaintiff and contestant, with the connivance of said election officers brought repeaters to said primary election held in said precinct, that is to say, persons who were not lawfully qualified voters therein by reason of the fact that they were not residents of said precinct or ward or legislative district and were not registered therein, and that said repeaters voted in said primary election in said precinct for the defendant and contestee under the names of John Allen, Charles Anglot, W. Beard, Fred Neal, H. Brown, H. Ruford, Lee Recken, James Clark, Joe Graves, — Edmonson, Bud James, John Porter, A. E. Roglan, H. Robinson, W. Rogers, R. Wardle, George Wood, John Yeoky, James Adams, John Cole, George Dun-

can, James Franklin, Taylor McGruder and O. French, and that said twenty four alleged votes cast by said repeaters and unqualified voters under the aforesaid twenty-four names were wrongfully and unlawfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestee; plaintiff and contestant further says that the following named persons were not lawfully qualified voters in said precinct for the reason that they did not live in said precinct and were not registered in said precinct and their names did not appear in the registration books of said precinct, notwithstanding which fact they were wrongfully and unlawfully permitted by said election officers to vote in said election and did vote therein for the defendant and contestee and their votes were wrongfully and unlawfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestee; S. Benfy, G. L. Brown, H. Lynlett, Eugene Dickinson, Henry Labor, Frank McConnell, Samuel Purls, Frank Patterson, S Summers and Lee Wambey; the plaintiff and contestant further says in said 29th precinct of the said 10th Ward and 59th Legislative District he received the votes of 45 qualified voters entitled to vote in said election and that the defendant and contestee received the votes of only 14 qualified voters, and that said election officers wrongfully counted said ballots and wrongfully certified the results of the vote in said precinct.

Plaintiff and contestant further says that in the 32nd precinct of the 10th Ward and 58th Legislative District in said primary election Ira Baker served as republican judge and David Kidd served as republican clerk, and in said precinct during said primary election the contestee and his supporters whose names are unknown to the contestant with the connivance and consent of said election officers, brought repeaters to said primary election held in said precinct that is to say, persons who were not lawfully qualified voters therein by reason of the fact that they were not residents of said precinct or ward or legislative district and were not registered therein, and that said repeaters voted in said primary election in said precinct for the defendant and contestee under the names of Wm. C. Saunders, Willie Roberts, George ralston, Allen Robinson, Henry Perkins, John Penick, C. Simonton, Wm. Stills, William Settles, James Whittaker, Thomas Lamb, Walter Lee, Warfield Marion, W. Moody, Clarence Mit-

shell, George E. Pash, William Pope, William Keys, Martin Huseman, Geo. Edwards, Henry Edmunds, Deck Ford, John Davidson, Robert Campbell, R. A. Baker, and Jacob H. Burch; plaintiff and contestant further says that the following named persons were not lawfully qualified voters in said precinct for the reason that they did not live in said precinct and were not registered in said precinct and their name did not appear in the registration books of said precinct, notwithstanding which fact they were wrongfully and unlawfully permitted to vote in said election and did vote therein for the defendant and contestee and their votes were wrongfully and unlawfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestee: John Tyler, R. I. Baker, Julius Busch, John Brown; the Plaintiff and contestant further says in said 32nd Precinct of the 10th Ward and 58th Legislative District he received the votes of 17 qualified voters entitled to vote in said election and that the defendant and contestee received the votes of no qualified voters and that said election officers wrongfully counted said ballots and wrongfully certified the result of the vote in said precinct.

Plaintiff and contestant further says that in the 33rd Precinct of the 10th Ward and 58th Legislative District in said primary election A. J. Childress served as republican judge and Chas. McDowell served as republican sheriff, and in said precinct during said primary election the contestee and his supporters whose names are unknown to the contestant, with the connivance and consent of said election officers, brought repeaters to said primary election held in said precinct, that is to say, persons who were not lawfully qualified voters therein by reason of the fact that they were not residents of said precinct or ward or legislative district and were not registered there, and that said repeaters voted in primary election in said precinct for the defendant and contestee under the names of Sam Walker, A. McDoover, John Jamison, Charles McDowell, L. T. Hallman, James Rhodes, G. Garney, George Barnett, R. Bohn, Jerome Boone, George Able, James Martin, and Lee Johnson, plaintiff and contestant further says that the following named persons were not lawfully qualified voters in said precinct for the reason that they did not live in said precinct and were not registered in said precinct and their names did not

appear in the registration books of said precinct, notwithstanding which fact they were wrongfully and unlawfully permitted by said election officers to vote in said election and did vote therein for the defendant and contestee and their votes were wrongfully and unlawfully counted by said election officers for the defendant and contestee: Lee Johnson, G. Krank, Sam Scott, C. N. Childern, Wm. Board, N. Hickman, John Watkins, George Morris, Sam Simon, William Baloter, Andrew Springer and George Warfield; the plaintiff and contestant further says in said 33rd precinct of the 10th ward and 58th legislative district he received the votes of 20 qualified voters entitled to vote in said election and that the defendant and contestee received the votes of 3 qualified voters, and that said election officers wrongfully counted said ballots and wrongfully certified the result of the vote in said precinct.

Plaintiff and contestant further says states that by the election officer that in the 35h Precinct of the 10th Ward and 58th Legislative District in said primary election J. C. Wilkins served as republican judge and James Doyle served as republican sheriff, and in said precinct during said primary election the contestee and his supporters whose names are unknown to the contestant, with the connivance and consent of said election officers, brought repeaters to said primary election held in said precinct, that is to say, persons who were not lawfully qualified voters therein by reason of the fact that they were not residents of said precinct or ward or legislative district and were not registered therein, and that repeaters voted in said primary election in said precincts for the defendant and contestee under the names of C. Carroll, John Foley, Ben Jones, R. Kelly, William Maxel, Julius Owens, Tim Smith and E L Tharp; plaintiff and contestant further says that the following named persons were not lawfully qualified voters in said precinct for the reason that they did not live in said precinct and were not registered in said precinct, and their names did not appear in the registration books of said precinct, notwithstanding which fact they were wrongfully and unlawfully permitted by said election officers to vote in said election and did vote therein for the defendant and contestee and their votes were wrongfully and unlawfully counted by

Bibb, Tolbert Miller, John May, William West, John C Wells, Chester Webb, Henry Wood, Alonzo Miller, Jas Bunn, Ed Bell, George Cardins, George Taylor, George Owens and Riley Hughes; plaintiff and contestant further says that he is informed, charges and believes to be true that one Will Neurath, one of the supporters and adherents of the contestee and defendant openly stamped the ballots of the above named persons so as to vote them for the defendant and contestee; the plaintiff and contestant further says in said 38th precinct of the said 10th ward and 58th legislative district he received the votes of 20 qualified voters entitled to vote in said election and that the defendant and contestee received the votes of 3 qualified voters, and that said election officers wrongfully counted said ballots and wrongfully certified the result of the vote in said precinct.

Plaintiff and contestant further states that by the election officer that in the 35h Precinct of the 10th Ward and 58th Legislative District in said primary election J. C. Wilkins served as republican judge and James Doyle served as republican sheriff, and in said precinct during said primary election the contestee and his supporters whose names are unknown to the contestant, with the connivance and consent of said election officers, brought repeaters to said primary election held in said precinct, that is to say, persons who were not lawfully qualified voters therein by reason of the fact that they were not residents of said precinct or ward or legislative district and were not registered therein, and that repeaters voted in said primary election in said precincts for the defendant and contestee under the names of C. Carroll, John Foley, Ben Jones, R. Kelly, William Maxel, Julius Owens, Tim Smith and E L Tharp; plaintiff and contestant further says that each and all of the wrongs, acts and conduct of the contestee, his friends and supporters and the election officers above referred to were for the purpose of the same did deprive this plaintiff and contestant of his rights as a candidate and were the result of a conspiracy of contestee and others, including the said election officers and the friends and supporters of the contestee, and said acts and wrongs were illegal and fraudulent, and by reason of same concurring, the returns were made to show by said election officers as aforesaid that contestee was the said election officers for the defendant winner of said primary election for and contestee: William Bryant, James said office of member of the legisla-

ture from the 58th legislative district of Kentucky, whereas in truth and in fact this contesant was elected and received the greater number of the votes as more specifically herein before set out.

Wherefore, plaintiff and contestant prays that it be adjudged by the court that he received a majority of the votes cast in said primary election in the 10th ward of the city of Louisville and 58th legislative district for the Republican nomination of the office of Representative from the 58th Legislative district in the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky and that he be adjudged the nominee of the Republican party, for said office to be voted for in the general election to be held in November, 1919.

WILLIAM WARLEY,

Plaintiff and Contestant.

John B. French Endorsed

For Co. Com. by Frederick Douglas Protective League

Considerable interest in the political affairs of the county has been aroused by the announcement that the Frederick Douglas Protective League, the largest civic organization of Negroes in the state of Illinois, has endorsed the candidacy of John B. French of the Twenty-fifth ward for county commissioner. It has also been learned that a resolution favoring this action has been passed by the League and presented to powers that be. The Frederick Douglas Protective League, with headquarters at 3453 South State street, phone Douglas 4395, is a corporation organized under the laws of the state of Illinois, for charitable and civic work among the people of our Race. It has a prominent representative in every ward and precinct of the city of Chicago, and numbers among its members and representatives some of the most prominent leaders, ministers, physicians, lawyers, business men and women civic workers in the state of Illinois. Being county wide, it embraces every Negro organization, including churches, lodges and all kinds of institutions for the advancement of our people.

For a large number of years in the past the Colored people have been represented on the county board of Cook county. This was due to the continued success of the Republican party county ticket up to the last Democratic landslide. But our people have never despaired of this advantage and the prospects for Republican success this fall have inspired the Negro leaders to take appropriate action in time for successful results.

The Republican County Central Committee has never refused to endorse fit and worthy candidates of our Race for the place. And it must be remembered that most of the men holding positions on the county board have been from the Second ward, and from the south side of Chicago. The Second ward has secured more political favors and positions for our people than all the other wards of the city combined. And the leaders in other sections of our city have pointed out the fact that the county, city and state

payrolls are filled up with the names of Negroes from the Second ward. Besides, it is a well-known fact that there is a gigantic factional fight now in progress in the Second ward between the Colored leaders.

In view, therefore, of the above stated condition of affairs, it behooves the people of our Race to settle on some candidate from another ward, who would be able to harmonize all the conflicting political elements and succeed in winning the election. This can be done if the people understand the situation and exercise their best political judgment.

John B. French is one of the oldest Colored citizens of Chicago. He comes from a distinguished family of Kentuckians and has made Chicago his home since 1866. For the past twenty-five years Mr. French has conducted a successful business in the Twenty-fifth ward and has won the confidence and esteem of the most progressive and prominent citizens of this ward. Moreover, his influence has not been limited to his home ward, but extends throughout the city, county and state. He has never before aspired for political honor or recognition of any kind. But by reason of his wide influence and reputation for fitness, worth and fidelity to the highest ideals of American citizenship, the office has sought the man, and he has been called upon by his many friends and associates to make the race for county commissioner.

The Twenty-fifth ward contains approximately 40,000 Republican votes. It is therefore a Republican stronghold. Consequently, it is safe to say that the candidacy of Mr. French will meet the approval of the Republicans in this ward.

Wherefore, let all the good people of the Republican party unite and cooperate with the Frederick Douglas Protective League in securing the unanimous endorsement, nomination and election of one of our fittest and best Republican citizens for county commissioner in the person of John B. French.



John French

MISS JEANNETTE CARTER

FIRST COLORED WOMAN TO BE APPOINTED CHIEF OF BUREAU IN THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, HAS CHARGE OF HOUSING AND TRANSPORTATION.

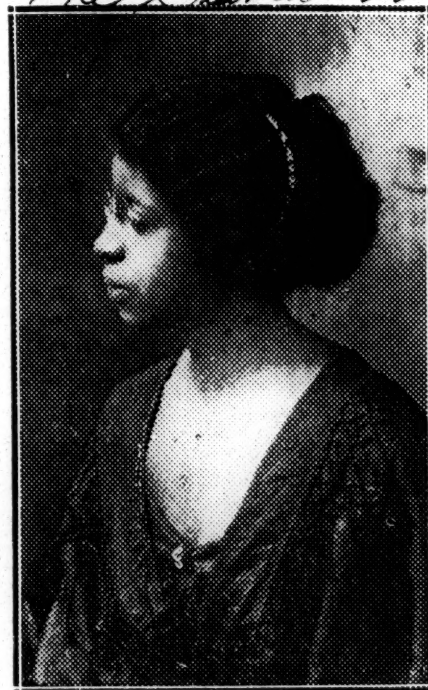
Washington, D. C., October 14.—Miss Jeannette Carter, who has just been appointed Director of the Colored Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation, in the U. S. Department of Labor, with many war workers in her Bureau, is one of the most talented and accomplished women the race has produced. She comes of a family of Carters distinguished in law, medicine and business, her brother, William Austin Carter, of Harrisburg, being one of the most successful lawyers in Western Pennsylvania, without regard to race. Miss Carter read law at Howard University, and has made a specialty of Departmental practise for several years. She has been one of the most successful pension attorneys here, and the first of her race to be admitted to practice, appearing before all of the Bureaus, including the War Department, Interior Department, Indian, Land and Patent Offices, and is the first Colored woman to successfully practise law in this section of the country. In connection with her practise, she was the first colored woman here, to be appointed a Notary Public for the District of Columbia.

Miss Carter has become widely known as a newspaper correspondent having been actively associated with several papers of the race during the past four years, and is now the Washington representative of the New York Age.

More than a year ago, Miss Carter with a few choice women of the race, organized the Woman Wage Earners' Association, of which she is the President, which grew to be a large and influential organization before the declaration of war upon the German allies. As soon as the war broke out Miss Carter offered the services of her Association, and her own personal services to the Government, principally the U. S. Labor Department, and she has been instrumental in placing a large number of women workers at the disposal of the Labor Department. She was asked to take part in the War Charities Board of the District of Columbia, including all of the charity organizations composed of women in the District of Columbia, and was the only colored organization represented in the joint organization. Miss Carter was upon the committee on organization of the allied charities, and assisted in framing the rules and regulations under which the allied organization now works, and which has in its membership some of the most distinguished women of the nation residing at the National Capital.

As a public speaker Miss Carter is magnetic and forceful and she has achieved much success in arousing our working women to the im-

portance of organizing to protect and promote their interests. She is a young woman of girlish build, long and wiry, and full of dynamic, nervous energy, with engaging manners and an amiable disposition which has won her a host of admirers here and all over the country, her offices in the National Benefit Building, 609 F street, Northwest, being one of the places at which most of the distinguished visitors to the National Capital call before leaving the city. In the position which has come to Miss Carter, the race has been fortunate in a woman who has made a success here in a field where many men have failed, and who may be relied upon to promote to the utmost the interests of the race, in her official capacity, as she has heretofore, in private station, given unsparingly of her time and means, as above all, she is intensely a race woman.



MISS JEANNETTE CARTER.

NEGROES SEEK CONGRESS SEAT IN FIRST DISTRICT

Madden Has Fight of His Life on Hands, His Friends Say.

CHICAGO ILL TRIBUNE
MAY 14, 1918

The Second ward, the Negro strong-

hold, has the politicians wrinking the puzzled brow these days. As an echo of the Jackson-De Priest aldermanic fight a campaign has been launched against Congressman Martin B. Madden that is giving his managers concern. Edward H. Morris, Negro, former member of the legislature, has been trotted out to race against Madden.

The ward now has two Negro aldermen. During the last two years it has had such an influx of voters, due to the migration of Negroes from the south, that Morris' backers figure that the Negro vote in the Second ward is enough to dominate the whole First Congressional district. So they are out to supplant Madden with a man of their own race.

Other Negro Ambitions.

In addition to the movement to send a Negro to congress, some of the ward leaders have served notice on the factional groups that they want one or two places on the county commissioners' ticket next fall, the state senatorship, the election of two men of their own race as representatives at Springfield, and a place on the municipal bench.

Congressman Madden's friends say he is up against the fight of his life. Well defined reports were out yesterday that State Senator George F. Harding would shelve his own candidacy for county office in order to keep the going more open for Mr. Madden. For months Harding has been listed as a candidate for sheriff or county treasurer, either on the city hall or Brundage neutral slate.

Regarded as Pivotal.

The politicians regard the ward as the pivotal spot in the fight over county offices at the primaries next September, just as it was in the mayoralty primaries in 1915, when the Second ward plurality was sufficient to give Mayor Thompson the nomination over Judge Harry Olson.

The Madden-Harding forces won in the aldermanic go last month and elected Ald. Jackson.

Ohio Man Named Advocate Minister to Siberia

WASHINGTON, Aug. 24.—Dr. J. L. Johnson, a practicing Colored physician at Columbus, O., has been nominated by the president to be minister to Liberia. Johnson has posed as a Colored Democrat. The ministership to Liberia has never been a greatly sought for berth under either Republican or Democratic administrations by the best men of the race. This is because of the adverse climatic conditions in Liberia.

Political—1918

Office Holding

Joseph Brent Is Assigned to Gary School, 30th and Lawndale;

Principal Pleased

Agree to Put Negro on G. O. R. Assembly Ticket

Entering another wedge in the matter of public employment of an unusual and prominent character, Alderman Anderson of the Second Ward this week scored again by the appointment of Mr. Joseph Brent, 3550 Prairie avenue, as an instructor in manual training in the public schools. The appointment of Mr. Brent was brought about by clever maneuvering on the part of Alderman Anderson. About two months ago the alderman learned thru inside sources at the Board of Education that an appointment could be had for a first-class, skilled carpenter. He busied himself at once and procured the appointment of Mr. Brent and had him assigned to Hyde Park High School. There his work attracted attention and much favorable comment by the principal.

Selection Appreciated

When Alderman Anderson learned that his selection had been so generally appreciated and favorably commented upon by the principal of the school, he again urged upon the president of the Board of Education the appointment of Mr. Brent as manual training instructor. He pointed out to the president that Mr. Brent was qualified in every respect to fill the position, both by education, training and experience.

The matter was referred to the supervisor of manual training, who, after some investigation as to the qualifications and fitness of Mr. Brent, appointed him to Gary School, 30th street and Lawndale avenue. Mr. Brent has been on the job for nearly a week, instructing a class of forty pupils in manual training, all of whom are white. This school is located in a neighborhood wholly populated by white people.

Referring to the work of Mr. Brent and the modern methods employed by him in manual training, the principal of the school said that there never had been a more painstaking, careful and efficient instructor in that school since the introduction of manual training.

Anderson Gets Credit

This and other appointments procured by Alderman Anderson illustrates the value of quiet methods in proceeding to accomplish things as contrasted with efforts made by others, whose noise accomplished nothing. As the alderman said when seen by a Defender representative regarding this added race representation, "You cannot hunt rabbits with brass bands, and I have always felt that in order to accomplish the results desired as little as possible should be said about it and give publicity to it only when it is done. This has been my method since I have been elected alderman, and I shall continue to pursue this policy until my term expires."

Colored Congressional Candidate Is Defeated

The Louisville News March 9, 1918

(Special to The News)

New York, March 7.—Dr. Reverdy C. Ransom, editor A. M. E. Review, a prominent race orator who was nominated as an independent candidate for Congress from the Twenty-first district, was defeated for that office yesterday.

In the balloting Dr. Ransom received 465 votes which was a good showing in the light of the fact that Justice Erlanger upheld the claims of the regular Republican nominee, Bolles, who argued that most of the names attached to Dr. Ransom's petition for a place on the ballot, were fraudulent.

Dr. Ransom's petition carried 2,684 signatures and the law only requires 2,248. The judge ruled that many of Ransom's petition, were of persons outside the district. Therefore Dr. Ransom was handicapped by not having his name printed on the ballot and anyone desiring to vote for him had to write his name, therefore 465 votes were not a bad showing.

Add to this handicap the fact that even before the Judge's decision all the race papers came out in favor of Bolles and against Ransom, it is easy to be seen what the colored candidate was up against. Such papers as the New York Age, New York News and the Amsterdam News came out in the issue before the election, crying the

"time is not ripe to run a colored man," "this nomination is irregular, etc."

Add to this the fact that E. A. Johnson (colored) elected to the State Assembly, addressed a card to the colored voters, urging them to vote for Bolles.

Verily, Ransom was a sacrifice on the altar of the colored North's first attempt to elect a race man for Congress.

But remember that 465 votes which the stencil was not used, but Ransom's name was written by the voter. It is a good sign. The ice has been broken. Harlem will yet send a Race man to Congress to represent the thickest and densest center of colored people in the world.

Ransom's Statement.

Since his defeat a statement made by Dr. Ransom before Justice Erlanger-Lynching and the burning of human beings at the stake are as atrocities

ger had decided against him, is of peculiar interest. Coming from a man as they are in Belgium and elsewhere. I would be as relentless towards these atrocities at home as toward the cruelty of German frightfulness abroad. Since it is notorious that in many states, while there is law enough, the state authorities will not act against lynchers, for this reason, I would advocate and support a law making lynching a Federal offence.

"Whether elected to Congress or not, I, and that group of many millions whom I represent, will stand uncompromisingly for political and social justice to the end that all classes, without regard to race or sex, financial or industrial standing, shall realize within the bounds of our own nation, the lofty ideals for which, at so great cost, we are going forth upon land and sea to lay upon the altar of world democracy, the splendid manhood of the flower of our youth."

WANTED—A NEGRO CONGRESSMAN

For several weeks we have been carefully scanning the columns of newspapers to discover what movements are being made by the Negroes of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Pittsburgh to furnish the race with a Representative at the Nation's capitol.

If there ever was a time when representation was needed it is now.

Since the passing of Senator Clapp of Minnesota there is not a member of either Senate or House who feels interest sufficient in the 12,000,000 Negroes to champion their cause when assailed, abused and vilified by men like Senators John Sharp Williams and Varde-man.

Less than two months ago at a time when the Negroes

of the country were loyally good by sending a Negro to and devotedly applying their Congress.
best energies and highest endeavors in aid of the government in its war aims Senator Williams, the Mississippi oracle, brutally assailed the women of the race and his words of hate and bitterness were listened to in silence in the nation's Halls of legislation and have not until this day received the unmeasured rebuke which misrepresentation of facts concerning loyal Americans citizens merited.

Disfranchisement of 8,000 000 Negroes has rendered them helpless in their own defense and they are unable therefore to send to Congress men who would guard their interest and lay bare the hard conditions which disfranchisement imposes upon a nominally free people under a republican form of government.

In New York, Chicago and Philadelphia there is a golden chance for a Negro to break into Congress and we earnestly hope it will not be overlooked by the citizens of those cities.

Organization should begin now and no stone left unturned to send a Negro to represent Negroes as well as other citizens in Congress.

We are not drawing the racial line it is drawn broad, black and threatening for us and the Negro who fails to see it is totally blind and hopeless.

The only way the Negro will ever secure a decent measure of rights in this country is through the exercise of the ballot and he should begin now to exercise it judiciously for his best

Representative Lucas
Announces Candidacy
7-27-18 for Re-election

To My Many Friends and Supporters of the First Senatorial District:

After carefully considering the political situation I have concluded to take this means of announcing my candidacy for re-election to the General Assembly of Illinois. In doing so I am not unmindful of the many candidates who have already announced themselves.

It shall be my purpose to conduct my campaign solely upon my record. Having labored earnestly for the promotion of the interest of the voters of the First District and my Race in particular, I feel justified in again offering myself as their servant.

I have no quarrel with any person or persons. Realizing that I am not the campaign manager of any of my opponents I will therefore refrain from giving them publicity through a mudslinging, vilifying, unmanly campaign.

While a member of the 50th General Assembly I opposed successfully "The Zoning Bill"; "Rule of 3" in the "Civil Service Bill"; had enacted into law the "Absent Voters' Bill"; fought for an "Anti-High School Fraternity Bill"; "The Loan Shark Bill," which had fattened for years upon the very life blood of the poor and unfortunate; had passed by the House "The Semi-Monthly Pay Resolution" for all state employees; introduced a bill against discrimination against my people by insurance companies; a bill to make it unlawful for corporations to conduct insurance under their corporate charters, contending that all of the activities of a corporation should be clearly defined. It has been my pleasure to place 92 men and women in positions paying in salary or wages from \$30 to \$104 per month.

The records will show that my accomplishments are unsurpassed by any of my predecessors, and yet I feel that my work is unfinished. There are a number of things which I can do during the next session that could not be done in the last. Men grow stronger and more effective as they grow older in the service. During this, the most crucial period in the history of our country, it is unwise to swap horses while crossing a stream.

Trusting that I may have the same loyal support this time that I had two years ago, I am,

Faithfully yours,

BENJ. H. LUCAS.

HON. R. H. RICHARDSON, COLUMBUS, S. C., ONLY NEGRO CANDIDATE IN GENERAL ELECTION, IS DEFEATED.

Columbus, S. C., Nov. 6.—Hon. R. H. Richardson, Republican, was defeated in yesterday's election by A. F. Lever, chairman of the Agriculture Committee.

Mr. Lever was the only candidate having opposition; the entire Democratic ticket being elected, only 20,000 votes being polled.

Aldermanic Candidates Tell Why They Should Represent the People of the Second Ward of Chicago

BY MAJOR JACKSON

1. Major Robert R. Jackson is the regular Republican nominee of the Republican primaries by a majority of Republicans voting therein.

2. De Priest knows he has no chance to win and only seeks to break up the Republican party and to injure the influence of his Race because he cannot control them for his own political and financial gain.

3. A vote for De Priest, therefore, is a vote for the Democratic nominee.

4. To vote for De Priest is to divide the Republican Race vote and thus make possible the election of the Democrat.

5. Every Race man elected in Illinois in the past has been nominated and elected on the Republican ticket.

6. Our Race has had to look to the Republican party for our protection and for assistance to full freedom against the opposition of the Democrats and their allies, the Independents.

7. To vote Independent is to waste your vote, for the Independents have never controlled a council, legislature or a congress.

8. The Republican party is the only party friendly to our Race and a vote against its candidate is a vote against our Race and its future interests.

9. The Republican party is the only party which stands for the civil liberty and freedom of our Race and a vote against it is a vote to retard the future progress of our Race.

10. The refusal of De Priest to abide by the verdict of the Republican primaries shows that he considers his wishes above those of the people and his Race's welfare.

11. De Priest defeated all Race aldermen until he was a candidate; he now seeks to defeat the second Race alderman with a Democrat until he thinks he can get it.

12. By voting for De Priest and dividing the Race vote we not only lose the second alderman but endanger if not lose our two Race representatives at Springfield.

13. If we vote for De Priest and divide the Republican vote we will destroy our chance to secure a Race man on the board of county commissioners this fall.

14. By dividing the Republican and Race vote now, we destroy our opportunity to command by a united front representation on the Municipal court bench and other branches of the city and county government.

15. Our Race is now in control of the ward and we are responsible for its political condition; if we endorse men who disregard public decency and party primaries we will fall like Oscar De Priest fell; and if we encourage the De Priest guerrilla warfare in politics we will meet the fate of the people in Santo Domingo, Haiti and Cuba who lost their power because they did not know how to use it.

If Oscar De Priest had won in the Republican primaries, Major Robert R. Jackson would have supported him for election April 2nd at the polls and said so in his public speeches more than a thousand times.

Sincerely yours,

MAJOR ROBERT R. JACKSON.
BY OSCAR DE PRIEST

My candidacy for election as alderman of the Second Ward is the result of a movement inaugurated by the people of the ward for local self-government—free from boss rule and free from the demoralizing influences of the reckless expenditure of a rich man's inherited millions. This movement, composed of the most representative men and women of the ward, is here to stay, and demands that wherever the Race is numerically in the majority, whether in the precinct or in the ward, there the Race shall control. In this, I am sure, we are asking no more than what we are justly and fairly entitled to as a component part of the body politic, and with no intention whatever to assume any "dangerous" measure of advantage over any other class of citizens. This movement will stand unalterably against any one man—be he white or black—dominating and controlling the political affairs of the ward. So much for the movement that stands behind my candidacy for election as alderman of the Second Ward. *March 30, 1918.*

I take a great deal of pleasure in re-subscribing to the following platform of principles adopted by a ward convention, which made me its standard-bearer for alderman at Odd Fellows' hall, on the 11th day of January, last: "Whereas, the Hon. Oscar De Priest, having served a term in the city council with eminent satisfaction to the people of the Second Ward, and having made a most enviable record as a member of that body, and

"Whereas, as the object of an unjust, unfair and uncalled for persecution and prosecution, he was brought before the bar of justice of Cook county, and there, by the verdict of a jury, fully acquitted, exonerated and restored to full standing as an honorable citizen of the community, and

"Whereas, we believe that he is and will continue to be the fearless champion of the things that make for the best interests of the constituency he represents, we present the following declaration of principles:

"1. That the majority of the Republican voters of the Second Ward should receive political consideration according to their numerical strength, giving to all elements of our local body politic that to which they are justly entitled.

"2. That neither the present so-called Republican Organization of the Second Ward, which has resolved itself into one man control, nor any other privately controlled organization, has the right to arrogate to itself the exclusive prerogative of naming, selecting or otherwise forcing upon the people to the exclusion of others any candidate of its choice.

"3. That our government, in all of its departments, has the unfaltering, loyal, united and patriotic support of this convention and the people for whom we stand, in the prosecution of this great war that is destined to make the world and especially this country safe for democracy to the end of time.

"4. That we stand for full and equal suffrage to all citizens of our common-

wealth, taking in that most important element—the women."

Upon this platform and with the assistance of the people, who have so generously and earnestly rallied to my support, I am an Independent candidate for election as alderman of the Second Ward. Any statement that my candidacy means the election of a Democrat is an insult to the intelligence of the men and women of the ward. No person with an ounce of sense will charge me with running independently for the purpose of electing a Democrat—no Democrat can be elected on April 2nd. There are only 4,000 Democrats in the ward and 23,000 Republicans. On that day I will be elected and I will be the representative of the best interests of all the people of the ward and will serve them to the best of my ability. OSCAR DE PRIEST.

JUDGE TERRELL'S 5th

CONFIRMATION BY

THE U. S. SENATE

A Unique Record.

(Special to The Daily Herald.)

The recent appointment of Judge Robert H. Terrell by President Wilson to succeed himself on the Municipal Court bench of the District of Columbia, and the confirmation of the nomination by the United States Senate last Thursday makes a rather unusual record. Judge Terrell is the senior member in point of service of the five members of the Court. He has served sixteen and one half years consecutively. He has been confirmed by the Senate five times. His appointments have come from three Presidents, all of whom are now living. Roosevelt named him twice, Taft once, and Woodrow Wilson twice. He is the only Republican on the bench of the Municipal Court, but has the backing of the lawyers of the District almost to a man without regard to politics. During his career as judge he has presided in many cases of great importance to the people of his community. His re-appointments meets the heartiest approval of all classes of citizens of the District of Columbia, among whom he has always maintained an unusual popularity.

For the first time in the history of Richmond, Va., a colored man has been appointed to a high office. His name is Walter H. Davis.

Major Is Elected Alderman Over Oscar De Priest: a Big Victory for the People

After one of the most stubborn contests ever known in the political history of Chicago Maj. Robert R. Jackson was elected alderman of the Second ward last Tuesday.

The victory of Maj. Jackson was significant, because the fact was generally recognized that his election would be a triumph for decency, good government and law and order. Not that De Priest did not have many good people among his supporters, but that De Priest himself did not stand for the ideas and principles in public life which at this time make for the best interest of the Republican party and the Race of the Second ward.

A study of the vote by precincts discloses much more than can be included in this observation. Maj. Jackson wins by 705 plurality, according to the latest figures.

It is to be noted that De Priest received 24 less women votes than Maj. Jackson, due to the fact that Jackson while at Springfield gave the decisive vote which conferred the privilege of voting upon the women of this state. Jackson carried his own precinct and De Priest carried his. Special effort was made to carry certain precincts because certain men of the Republican party lived therein.

The following prominent persons of the Race carried their precincts where special efforts were made to defeat them with their neighbors: Hon. Edward H. Wright, assistant corporation counsel and Ald. Louis B. Anderson; Hon. Edward D. Green of the city attorney's office; Hon. George W. Ellis, assistant corporation counsel; Investigator Cleves of the corporation counsel's office; Attorney A. L. Williams, Hon. James G. Cotter, assistant attorney general, besides many of the regular captains of the Republican party organization.

The white Republicans of the ward were loyal to Maj. Jackson and those entitled to special mention are: Hon. Martin B. Madden, who came from Washington and made two strong speeches for Maj. Jackson and the Republican party at this important crisis in the race; Hon. George F. Harding, Jr., senator from the First district, who made many strong speeches for Maj. Jackson in the primary and election; Ald. Hugh Norris gave Jackson a substantial plurality over De Priest; Hon. Charles Kritchzkoff of the assessor's office carried his precinct along with Capt. Bouchier. Under the influence of the Graham appeal to white voters to elect Kuehne, the white Democrat, most all the white captains did splendid work and some of them did extra well, as the figures of the precincts will show.

The Chicago Defender comes in for its share of the glory, for it stuck to Maj. Jackson throughout the campaign.

paign.

The credit of the Jackson victory is due to the co-operation of the right thinking men and women of both races in the Republican party, led by the leaders who believe in the progress.

VOTE BY PRECINCTS, 2D WARD

Precinct.	Jackson.	DePriest.	Kuehne.
1.....	33	1	125
2.....	59	1	96
3.....	36	4	96
4.....	74	66	6
5.....	111	107	13
6.....	202	123	9
7.....	117	84	9
8.....	143	88	5
9.....	51	51	74
10.....	115	164	5
11.....	79	126	5
12.....	73	61	13
13.....	68	65	46
14.....	103	70	52
15.....	30	5	125
16.....	71	22	92
17.....	110	104	39
18.....	58	60	36
19.....	47	14	36
20.....	73	37	118
21.....	105	93	93
22.....	126	76	14
23.....	100	40	41
24.....	50	48	42
25.....	70	12	65
26.....	67	30	60
27.....	90	58	75
28.....	135	71	Dr. Anderson of Quinn; Dr. Blackwell
29.....	158	125	of Walters A. M. E. church; Dr. Wil-
30.....	145	119	liams of Olivet Baptist church; Dr.
31.....	128	147	McCracken, presiding elder; Rev. Hay-
32.....	83	71	wood, Dr. Gibson, Dr. Crockett, be-
33.....	93	75	sides Dr. A. J. Carey.
34.....	91	67	
35.....	87	114	
36.....	79	173	
37.....	124	169	
38.....	106	117	
39.....	56	126	
40.....	117	158	
41.....	43	63	
42.....	49	1	
43.....	51	45	
44.....	63	103	
45.....	58	82	
46.....	138	96	
47.....	79	111	
48.....	146	120	
49.....	89	133	
50.....	109	132	
51.....	126	38	
52.....	96	150	
53.....	122	101	
54.....	61	42	
55.....	91	95	
56.....	89	132	
57.....	102	70	
58.....	161	109	
59.....	138	140	
60.....	106	91	
61.....	114	95	
62.....	59	26	
63.....	121	197	
64.....	117	115	
65.....	73	27	
66.....	68	84	
67.....	107	106	

68.....	136	123	20
69.....	77	62	78
70.....	70	110	58
71.....	44	54	46
72.....	34	7	153
73.....	41	27	92
74.....	59	27	77

6,700 5,995 3,995

and good sense of the Race citizen.

125 Aside from those already mentioned,

96 special note should be made of Hon.

96 Delbert H. Roberts, Willis Jefferson,

6 Dr. W. A. Buchanan, Attorney Wm. E.

13 King, A. G. F. Sims, Hon. Samuel A.

9 Ettelson, corporation counsel; J. Tip-

9 per, Representative Brinkman, who car-

5 ried his precinct for Jackson; Charles

74 A. Griffin, Hon. Wm. Cowan, Attorney

5 C. F. Stratford, Henry S. Goins, B. W.

5 Fitts and L. A. Ferribee.

13 The names of all the women who

46 rendered valuable services to the party

52 and Maj. Jackson cannot be given.

125 Among those who spoke are Mrs. Cor-

92 della West, Mrs. Emma Smith,

39 Scott, Mrs. Ella G. Berry, Mrs. G.

36 trude Balay, Mrs. Bertha Montgome-

118 and Mrs. Nettie Prothro.

93 The church people played a signifi-

14 cant part in the election. Most of the

41 pastors spoke for Jackson and the Re-

42 publican party. The following preach-

65 ers are entitled to special mention for

60 their services; Dr. Cook of Bethel;

75 Dr. Anderson of Quinn; Dr. Blackwell

63 of Walters A. M. E. church; Dr. Wil-

14 liams of Olivet Baptist church; Dr.

17 McCracken, presiding elder; Rev. Hay-

8 wood, Dr. Gibson, Dr. Crockett, be-

54 sides Dr. A. J. Carey.

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Socialist Victory Will Solve Negro Question, Says Party Candidate

Walter M. Cook, Socialist candidate in the 2d Assembly district, Bronx made some enlightening remarks about the Negro question yesterday in a casual conversation on politics in the South. Cook is a Southerner by birth, but probably learned more about Dixie politics while touring the South in 1913 as a Socialist organizer than he had ever known as a native.

"Socialism is the only possible solution of the Negro problem," said Cook. "In Socialism the Negro question is swallowed up, as the part is lost in the whole. At bottom it is an economic problem. The blacks suffer under the same conditions that oppress the whites. They work side by side in the factories, the mines and the forests. And capitalism is astride the backs of both. Together they must rise and throw it off."

"It is my observation," continued Cook, "that Negroes have as much aversion for the whites as the latter have for the blacks. The fact that the two intermarry doesn't disprove the evident truth that the illusion of race prejudice is still very strong in both. But under our present system the bias in favor of associating only with one's own people has to be ignored. Only when all of us are economically free can white and black choose the conditions under which they shall live and work. When capitalism is abolished, then, if segregation seems to be the best way of maintaining social harmony, segregation can and will take place."

"In the meantime, blacks and whites cannot be too often urged to sink their differences in the common assault upon the common enemy. Whether they like the contact or not, they must organize side by side in industry and politics, until together they have established the industrial commonwealth."

Asked if Negro Socialists, below the Mason and Dixon line mingled on an equal footing with the white radicals, Cook replied:

"No, the Negro Socialists are organized in their own branches, separate from the whites. It would be practically impossible to invite Negroes to join organizations of white men, although they do come to public meetings held by the Socialists."

"A northerner has no idea how bitter and how active the Southern prejudice is against the Negro. When I was touring the South for the Rand school, I narrowly escaped lynching. Walter M. Cook, Socialist candidate in the 2d Assembly district, Bronx made some enlightening remarks about the Negro question yesterday in a casual conversation on politics in the South. Cook is a Southerner by birth, but probably learned more about Dixie politics while touring the South in 1913 as a Socialist organizer than he had ever known as a native. "Socialism is the only possible solution of the Negro problem," said Cook. "In Socialism the Negro question is swallowed up, as the part is lost in the whole. At bottom it is an economic problem. The blacks suffer under the same conditions that oppress the whites. They work side by side in the factories, the mines and the forests. And capitalism is astride the backs of both. Together they must rise and throw it off." "It is my observation," continued Cook, "that Negroes have as much aversion for the whites as the latter have for the blacks. The fact that the two intermarry doesn't disprove the evident truth that the illusion of race prejudice is still very strong in both. But under our present system the bias in favor of associating only with one's own people has to be ignored. Only when all of us are economically free can white and black choose the conditions under which they shall live and work. When capitalism is abolished, then, if segregation seems to be the best way of maintaining social harmony, segregation can and will take place." "In the meantime, blacks and whites cannot be too often urged to sink their differences in the common assault upon the common enemy. Whether they like the contact or not, they must organize side by side in industry and politics, until together they have established the industrial commonwealth." Asked if Negro Socialists, below the Mason and Dixon line mingled on an equal footing with the white radicals, Cook replied: "No, the Negro Socialists are organized in their own branches, separate from the whites. It would be practically impossible to invite Negroes to join organizations of white men, although they do come to public meetings held by the Socialists." "A northerner has no idea how bitter and how active the Southern prejudice is against the Negro. When I was touring the South for the Rand school, I narrowly escaped lynching. Walter M. Cook, Socialist candidate in the 2d Assembly district, Bronx made some enlightening remarks about the Negro question yesterday in a casual conversation on politics in the South. Cook is a Southerner by birth, but probably learned more about Dixie politics while touring the South in 1913 as a Socialist organizer than he had ever known as a native. "Socialism is the only possible solution of the Negro problem," said Cook. "In Socialism the Negro question is swallowed up, as the part is lost in the whole. At bottom it is an economic problem. The blacks suffer under the same conditions that oppress the whites. They work side by side in the factories, the mines and the forests. And capitalism is astride the backs of both. Together they must rise and throw it off." "It is my observation," continued Cook, "that Negroes have as much aversion for the whites as the latter have for the blacks. The fact that the two intermarry doesn't disprove the evident truth that the illusion of race prejudice is still very strong in both. But under our present system the bias in favor of associating only with one's own people has to be ignored. Only when all of us are economically free can white and black choose the conditions under which they shall live and work. When capitalism is abolished, then, if segregation seems to be the best way of maintaining social harmony, segregation can and will take place." "In the meantime, blacks and whites cannot be too often urged to sink their differences in the common assault upon the common enemy. Whether they like the contact or not, they must organize side by side in industry and politics, until together they have established the industrial commonwealth."

A Howling Mob.

"Instantly, those good-natured, careless, friendly folk were transformed into a howling mob. Bewildered, I asked a friend for an explanation. 'It was the form in which you put your question,' he said. 'If you had declared that there were hundreds, or thousands, or even hundreds of thousands of educated and intelligent Negroes, that would have been all right. But unconsciously, in framing your sentence, you linked up the Negroes and the whites, treating them as one people. That the whites won't have.'

"Since then the Socialist party has taken a stand on the Negro question, but at that time an organizer who wanted to see the Negroes get a square deal spoke on his individual responsibility. In connection with this, I remember an incident in my home state, South Carolina. A man had been admitted to the county local upon application by mail, and the fact that he was a Negro was not discovered until later. One day when approached by a Socialist missionary in front of his home, he rushed into the house and came out much delighted, presenting the red card of membership."

"When the matter was put up to the county organizer, I remember he went deadly pale. But in a moment he pulled himself together and rose to the occasion. The reality of the brotherhood of man is a Socialist principle, and he was too good a Socialist not to live up to it when put to the test. The Negro was accepted."

Cook can tell many a story of his experiences as a Socialist organizer in the South. He was getting no salary as organizer—just took a chance on making expenses by collections, like a Methodist evangelist. And the parallel, according to his descrip-

with his hints and threatening gestures. But the others—hardly!

The drama—a really gripping and highly colored piece of stage writing—revolves around a count, a polished gentleman of leisure, who, always prating that he might be nice, if women trusted him, has seduced two women and threatens the future of a third. Mrs. Olrik was the first; Kristine, a spinster and mother of the boy of six, was the second, and Marie Meyer, a wealthy Jewish girl, is the third. It is Kristine who begs Mrs. Olrik to adopt the child. The two women surprise each other into admissions that they have been paying the count blood money, thus creating a bond between them. The future of Marie brings them into open conflict with the count. Kristine commits suicide, and Mrs. Olrik strangles the royal gentleman and steals incriminating letters from his pocket. The climax—and a striking one, too—is the moment when she has her husband tear them up without doing them.

There is no question about the characters being interestingly sketched. There is ripping good dramatic action in the piece, and the portrayals are individually good. But, in the conflict of personalities, the perspectives shift into a maze. There is ample dramatic meat, but no nutriment, no thread clearly traceable and intelligible.

There is an interesting relationship between the two women, Mrs. Olrik and Kristine. A fear of being placed in the power of the other keeps them silent; yet their mutual dangers draw them together. Again, the scenes between Mrs. Olrik and the count are rich in character sketching, particularly effective being the nuances as pleading and fear turn to vengeance and the striking claw. As said be-

ANTI OR PRO-ADMINISTRATION?

Last week editorially The Observer discussed the many increases occasioned by the war and the increased fare of 6c and 3c granted the Houston Electric Company by the city council whose action will either be approved or rejected by the voters of this city Tuesday, November 5, 1918.

In quite an exhaustive article this paper endeavored to show that the temporary raise in transportation fare was necessary, as borne out by the facts presented to the city council, when an increase in fare was granted the local rapid transit company.

The mayor and city commissioners are elected to serve the people and in that service it is not presupposed that any hostility will be shown to big corporations simply because they are classified and regarded as "big business."

Public service utilities must be maintained at their highest efficiency during war times, and especially those that are of such great importance to the several communities as the street car companies.

It would be very unpatriotic to cripple or hamper the service of this public utility during the present crisis, while the government is asking that all our efforts be co-ordinated for the speedy winning of the war and the unconditional surrender of our military foes.

If we have poor or poorer street car service, it will be impossible for men and women engaged in war work to get to and from their work on time and thus the Nation's welfare will be imperiled as a consequence.

It is very essential that the street car service be improved and not rendered worse, and since the city fathers, as custodians of the affairs of this city, have seen the wisdom of granting a 1c and 1/2c increase, it becomes the duty of every patriotic American citizen in this municipality, who is an eligible voter, to ratify their action by voting for the ordinance next Tuesday.

In rendering decisions through the instrumentality of the ballot prejudice and hostility towards corporations and big business must be discarded and a vote cast as the facts in the case warrant and as the exigencies of the time prove beyond the shadow of reasonable doubt.

Sifted down to its final analysis, the question simply resolves itself as follows: Are we going to back up our city government primarily and the Houston Electric Company secondarily, or are we going to permit a few disgruntled pseudo leaders, avowed and rabid enemies to our race, cause us to repudiate the action of the city council and show a defiant and antagonistic attitude and disposition towards President Wilson, whose statement on this point to Director General McAdoo appeared in last week's Observer?

It can be said to the credit of the colored voters of Houston that, when the actual facts and real truth are presented to them on such momentous and magnitudinous questions, they generally cast a vote sanely and sensibly and The Observer is of the opinion that this occasion will prove no exception to the general rule and reputation of our local citizens of color.

Without any endeavor at exaggeration the Houston Street Car Company has arrived at a crisis in its career as a public service utility and relief must be secured from some quarters, or bankruptcy will be the next thing on the program with the resultant crippled service.

Bear this in mind, dear voter: The increase allowed the Houston Electric Company by the city administration is not permanent, but temporary, and is a war measure pure and simple. Permit no one to deceive you on this score.

It is to be lamented and regretted that it was necessary for an election to decide this point, but this community possesses a

few individuals obsessed with the "divine right to rule" and dictate ideas in their craniums and since the local street car company was and is persona non grata to these chieftains, the filing of a petition made it mandatory upon the city council to either repeal the ordinance or submit it to the voters for their approval or disapproval.

The facts and figures have been cited in advertisements and circulars of the street car company from time to time and all patrons of the line are very conversant with the same. Therefore it is unnecessary for a discussion or resume of them here. Suffice it to say that the city council wisely and carefully considered the facts and granted the increase.

A vote FOR THE ORDINANCE means not only an efficient car service here, but it will also prove our confidence in and respect for Mayor Amerman and the city commissioners and our fidelity and loyalty to President Woodrow Wilson, the latter having requested all local governments to grant such increases as the necessities of the situation prompt and render imperative.

VOTE FOR THE ORDINANCE TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1918, and keep Houston in the forefront of Southern cities along rapid transit lines.

WEST VIRGINIA HONORS RACE MEN

Move Started for Independent Candidate in Tenth and Possibly Eleventh. KANSAS CITY MO POST MARCH 16, 1918

Other negro candidates for lower house aldermen are expected to file on "Home Rule" tickets with the election commissioners by Monday night. It was learned this morning that there was a movement among negroes in the Tenth ward to run an independent candidate, and, also, there is a possibility of an independent negro candidate running in the Eleventh ward.

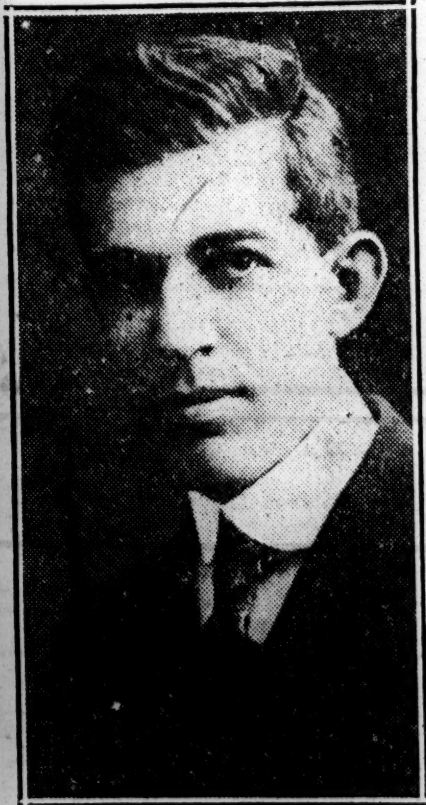
It is estimated there are 400 negro votes in the Tenth ward and possibly 2,000 in the Eleventh ward. The new negro candidates, if filed, will make a bid for all Republican votes, declaring their voting power in the city entitles them to two representatives, at least, in the lower house.

It was learned this morning by members of the Democratic city central committee that W. W. Geary could not run on the Democratic ticket as a candidate from the Fourteenth ward for the lower house because of business reasons. The committee probably will select G. C. Lighthizer to take his place tonight.

The Democratic ticket in its entirety was filed shortly after noon today. The Labor ticket, and the Republican tickets will be filed this afternoon or Monday.

SEVEN MEMBERS OF RACE NOMINATED ON REPUBLICAN TICKET.

CHICAGO, Ill., Sept. 19.—Hon. George W. Elliss, lawyer and author, was nominated on the Republican ticket for Judge of the Municipal Court. Editor S. B. Turner was nominated for the Legislature from the First District and Hon. Adelbert H. Roberts and Attorney Warren Douglass were nominated on the Republican ticket for the Legislature from the Third District. Col. J. H. Johnson and Chas. Griffin were nominated on the Republican ticket for County Commissioners.



WALTER M. COOK.

Political - 1918

Office Holding

Major R. R. Jackson defeated Oscar De-Priest for nomination as alderman in the second ward of Chicago. Both men are colored.

The ~~Western~~ *Post* Crisis 1918 P 296.

COLUMBUS O. LIB ADVOCATE

MARCH 27, 1918

Negro Democrats at a Banquet.

Five hundred members of the Central Negro Democratic organization of Kansas City attended the annual banquet of the organization at Eighteenth and Paseo last night. "We stand for men and against solidarity of voting among the negroes," said Dr. William J. Tompkins, chairman of the executive committee, the principal speaker. Dr. Lon V. Tillman acted as toastmaster. A. V. Monholland is president of the organization.

Political - 1918

Office Holding

WAR AIMS OF GOVERNMENT TO
BE PRESENTED BY COLO-
RED SPEAKERS.

Announcement Made Through Office
of Emmett Scott, Special As-
sistant to Secretary
of War.

PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF WORK.

War Department, Washington, D. C.—Through the office of Mr. Emmett J. Scott, Special Assistant to the Secretary of War, it is announced that the War Department and the Speaking Division of the Committee on Public Information, recognizing the importance of enlightening Negro opinion as to the War aims of the Government, have decided to appoint a Special Committee of Speakers, to be composed of leading Colored Americans who shall, as opportunity offers, seek to create and mobilize public opinion which shall back up the Government on the prosecution of the war.

As has been stated, the issue of this struggle depends to a large extent on the way public opinion in the United States is stimulated and directed. It is indeed only through the united efforts of enlightened and enthusiastic Americans that the full strength of the nation can be exerted, that victory can come to our righteous cause, and that America can accomplish those things for which she entered this conflict. Upon the leaders of our public opinion, therefore, rests responsibility heavier than perhaps ever rested upon any group of people in our entire history. It is a task which can be performed only by men and women who themselves are well informed and who co-operate with all patriotic organizations, governmental and private, which are unifying public opinion in support of the national purpose.

The following gentlemen who are representative of Negro thought and opinion, have been requested by the War Department and the Committee on Public Information, to render the services above indicated.

List of Speakers.

Dr. Robert R. Moton, Principal Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama

Dr. Ernest Lyon, Chairman Colored Branch of the Maryland Council of

Defense and Consul-General of the Republic of Liberia to the United States, Baltimore, Md.

Hon. Wm. H. Lewis, Former Asst. Attorney General of the United States, Boston, Mass.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Editor The Crisis Magazine, New York City.

Hon. Charles W. Anderson, former Collector of Internal Revenue for the Second District of New York City, now Assistant Commissioner of Agriculture at present serving on Exemption Board, New York City.

Dr. J. W. E. Bowen, Vice President, Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. John R. Hawkins, Financial Secretary of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C.

Nearly every important organization represented.

Dr. Robert E. Jones, Editor, The Southwestern Christian Advocate, New Orleans, La.

Mr. Perry W. Howard, President National Negro Bar Association, Jackson, Miss.

Dr. E. C. Morris, President National Baptist Convention, Helena, Ark.

Bishop George W. Clinton, Senior Bishop African Methodist Church, Charlotte, N. C.

Dr. E. P. Jones, President National Baptist Convention, unincorporated, Vicksburg, Miss.

Mr. Fred R. Moore, Publisher, The New York Age, New York City.

Hon. J. C. Napier, President National Negro Business League, Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. Charles Banks, First Vice President of the National Negro Business League, Mound Bayou, Miss.

Mr. L. M. Hershaw, Trustee, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. George W. Harris, Editor, New York News, New York City.

Mr. W. Ashbie Hawkins, Attorney at Law, Baltimore, Md.

Bishop Isaiah B. Scott, Bishop M. E. Church, Nashville, Tenn.

Judge Robert H. Terrell, Municipal Judge, District of Columbia.

Hon. James A. Cobb, former Asst. U. S. District Attorney, Washington.

Mr. Benj. J. Davis, District Grand Secretary of the Colored Odd Fellows struggle depends to a large extent and Publisher of the Atlanta Independent, Atlanta, Ga.

Rev. A. H. Proctor, pastor First Congregational Church, Atlanta, Ga.

Prof. Isaac Fisher, Editor Fisk University News, Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. V. H. Tulane, Trustee, Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Montgomery, Ala.

Mr. George H. Woodson, District Secretary of the Colored Odd Fellows of Iowa, Buxton, Iowa.

Mr. Thomas J. Calloway, Attorney at Law, Field Agent, of the Crisis, Glendale, Maryland.

Prof. J. R. E. Lee, Principal Lincoln High School, Kansas City, Mo.

Major Allen W. Washington, President Virginia Organization Society, Hampton Institute, Va.

Dr. Wm. A. Creditt principal Downing Industrial and Agricultural School, Downingtown, Pa.

Mr. Robt. S. Abbott, Editor and Publisher, Chicago Defender, Chicago.

Dr. E. W. Moore, Second Baptist Church, Columbus, Ohio.

Dr. Ulysses G. Mason, Treasurer Colored Pythian Organization, Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. H. A. Rucker, former Collector of Internal Revenue, Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. W. T. Andrews, Editor, Baltimore Herald, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. Robert E. Clay, president Temperance Organization and Bristol Negro Business League, Bristol, Tenn.

Hon. Charles N. Love, editor Texas Freeman, Houston, Texas.

Mr. R. W. Thompson, newspaper correspondent, Washington, D. C.

Rev. L. L. Campbell, Moderator St. John Encampment, Austin, Texas.

Rev. C. T. Walker, Pastor Tabernacle Baptist Church, Augusta, Ga.

Mr. A. W. Johnson, Negro Board of Trade, Nashville, Tenn.

Prof. Kelly Miller, dean Academy of Arts and Sciences, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Dr. John Hope, President Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Nelson C. Crews, Editor Kansas City Sun, Kansas City, Mo.

Dr. E. D. Shamborguer, Pastor of M. E. Church, Chattanooga, Tenn.

Mr. W. Clarence Hueston, Attorney at Law, Kansas City, Mo.

Hon. P. B. S. Pinchback, former Governor of Louisiana, Washington.

Dr. A. J. Carey, Pastor Institutional Church, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. W. E. Easton, Custodian State Offices, Los Angeles, Cal.

Hon. Ralph W. Tyler, former Auditor U. S. Navy Department, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Sutton E. Griggs, Author and Lecturer, Memphis, Tenn.

Hon. Wm. C. McCard, Attorney at

Law, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. Wm. L. Houston, Attorney at Law, Washington, D. C.

Mr. James E. Shepard, President, National Training School, Durham, N. C.

Mr. Henry Allen Boyd, Secretary, National Negro Press Association, Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. Charles N. Love, Editor and Proprietor Texas Freeman, Houston, Texas.

People's Benevolent Industrial Life Insurance Co. of La., New Orleans.

Dr. C. W. Roman, Nashville, Tenn.

Dr. W. H. Brooks, St. Marks M. E. Church, New York City.

Mr. Joseph L. Jones, Chairman Executive Committee, National Negro Press Association, Cincinnati, O.

Patriotic Campaign to be Undertaken

This patriotic campaign will be undertaken at an early date and zones of activity will be worked out whereby the gentlemen above named may have full opportunity to serve the United States Government in this hour of national emergency and need.

There is also being worked out a program whereby representative women of the race may later be called into service to conduct a similar campaign of patriotic activity.

In addition to this a special campaign will be conducted in all of the camps and cantonments where Negro soldiers are stationed, and in the cities surrounding such camps and cantonments, by colored physicians, surgeons, etc., who will seek to promote the best possible health conditions among the soldiers of the various camps. This work will take the form of lectures, clinics, stereopticon talks, etc., dealing with those subjects which directly concern the moral and physical welfare of the colored soldiers. A selected group of prominent physicians and surgeons will have charge of this campaign.

FIRST NEGRO WAR CORRESPONDENT AND LIBERIAN LOAN.

Two Notable Additions to the Big

Achievements to Credit of Recent Conference of Colored Editors at Washington.

Ralph W. Tyler Named to Report Military Happenings on Western Front in France—United States Agrees to Loan \$5,000,000 to Aid Republic of Liberia.

Washington, D. C., September 16.—Two notable additions have been made within the past few days to the list of big achievements that may be justly credited to the influence of the recent conference of colored editors and leaders in Washington.

One of the direct requests of the Editors' Conference in June was that a reliable colored news writer be sent to France to report the doings of the colored troops on the western front for the information of the anxious millions of colored Americans in this country and to the end that the correct story of the valor and patriotic devotion of their brethren might be told fully and in a sympathetic vein by one of their own blood and kindred.

In compliance with this request, the Committee on Public Information has designated Ralph W. Tyler of Columbus, Ohio former Auditor for the Navy Department at Washington as a regularly commissioned war correspondent, to specialize on the conditions surrounding the colored troops in France and to make daily reports of the activities and engagements in which the colored soldiers are prominent. He will be on the staff of General Pershing, commander-in-chief of the American Expeditionary Forces overseas. Every facility has been provided by Mr. George Creel, director of The Committee on Public Information for the prompt and accurate gathering of all facts that may be of interest to the colored people.

FIRST NEGRO TO BE NAMED AS A WAR CORRESPONDENT.

Mr. Tyler is the first colored man to be named as a regular war correspondent by any Government in the world. He is a native of Ohio. For seventeen years he served in various departments on the Columbus Evening Dispatch and the Ohio State Journal which gave him experience in the technique of the newspaper craft and afforded him opportunity for association with many influential newspaper men. This intimate contact with such forces will be invaluable to him in his labors as a war correspondent. The fact that he has a wide acquaintance with correspondents now at the front will make it possible for him to get news concerning colored troops which perhaps no other colored correspondent could secure.

The claims of a number of men were fully considered in connection with this important assignment, but Mr. Tyler was finally selected as the most efficient of those available. Immediately after war was declared by the United States on Germany Mr. Tyler wrote the President tendering his services in any capacity. He has three sons all of whom are at the front in France.

\$5,000,000 LOAN TO LIBERIAN REPUBLIC.

The second of this series of editorial conference achievements is the authorization by the Government of a loan of \$5,000,000 to the Republic of Liberia in line with the request of the Conference. This fund is allotted to aid in the rehabilitation of that country's public finances, which have been reduced to a dangerously low ebb by the cessation of trade and to develop production of rice and other foodstuffs for the allies, as well as to place on the market many of the greatly needed products with which the little overseas republic abounds. Much of Liberia's commerce was with Germany and this has been totally cut off since the former's declaration of war against the Teutons.

The granting of this \$5,000,000 credit through the United States Treasury had its inception several months ago when Dr. Ernest Lyon, the Liberian Council-General made application on behalf of his Government for same, and was helped forward quite perceptibly by a meeting at the White House later, when a committee laid before the President the peculiar needs of Liberia and made plain the faithfulness of her people to the cause of the allies emphasizing the fact that Liberia is the natural ward of this powerful Government and that its welfare must be safeguarded by America in her hour of peril.

The members of the committee who joined in the appeal to the President were Dr. Robert R. Moton Principal of the famous Tuskegee Institute; Emmett J. Scott Secretary of Tuskegee Institute now serving as Special Assistant to the Secretary of War; Dr. Ernest Lyon former United States Minister to Liberia and now Liberian Consul-General in this country; Dr. James H. Dillard of the Slater and Jeanes Fund Boards; Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones of the United States Bureau of Education and Hon. William H. Lewis former Assistant Attorney General of the United States.

DR. ROMAN ENLISTS IN WAR WORK

Dr. C. V. Roman, of Nashville, Tenn., who is known the length and breadth of the American continent as "the noblest Roman of them all," has enlisted in war work, and has a cosy office at Nineteenth and G Streets N. W., in connection with the War Commission on Training Camp Activities. His position, to be exact, is Field Secretary of the American Social Hygiene Association, and his assignment is to the venereal division of the Commission on Training Camp Activities, to do educational work in the cantonment areas, which will include the camps where colored soldiers are stationed and the cities adjacent thereto. He sacrifices a

large practice as a specialist in eye, ear, nose and throat diseases at Nashville to take up this new and patriotic work.

Prof. Atwell Takes Up New Food Work

Prof. R. A. Atwell, who has had charge of the work among the negroes of the Alabama Food Administration, has been called to the same work for the United States Food Administration. Prof. Atwell is one of the best known men of Alabama among his people, with whom he has worked for several years as the Business agent of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial school. When Mr. Richard M. Hobbie, was organizing the work of the Food administration in Alabama he called in Prof. Atwell and turned over the work among the negroes to him.

Prof. J. H. Phillips, a former teacher of the State Normal School, of Montgomery, has been named as the successor of Prof. Atwell with the Alabama Food Administration. Prof. Phillips has already taken over the work and is proceeding with the fine work started by Prof. Atwell. Prof. Phillips is well known in the negro business world of Montgomery and has built up a thriving insurance business here since he left the Normal school.

Colored men were recently elected to office as follows: Richard A. Cooper

reelected a member of the City Council, Philadelphia, Pa.; in Englewood, N. J.,

Dr. William F. Willoughby was elected Coroner of Bergen County, on the republican ticket; Thomas W. Fleming was re-elected to the City Council, Eleventh

Ward, Cleveland, Ohio for the third time, against four white opponents; Dr.,

Summer A. Furniss was elected to the city Council of Indianapolis, Indiana.

The Crisis January 1918. P. 144.

Charles Scott, colored, is the Councilman of the 3rd ward Worcester, Mass. There are only 36 Negro voters in the ward.

Christian Recorder

3/14/18

Mr. Herbert Wright, formerly U. S. Consul to Puerto Cabella,

Venezuela, is now practising law in De Moines, Iowa. He has just chosen secretary

of an army club which has a club-house for colored soldiers at Des Moines, under

the War Recreation Board. From 800 to 1,000 people visit the entertainments.

The Crisis March 1918. P. 248.

In Erwin County, Ga. the sheriff has appointed a colored tax collector,

Richard H. Singleton.

The Crisis- June- page 86.

"Two colored women were chosen as delegates to the new York Republican convention and two alternates. The delegates were Dr. Gertrude E. Curtis, of the Nineteenth District and Mrs. Laura B. Fisher, of the Twentieth."

The Crisis, September 1918. P. 240.

Charles Scott has been elected to the City Council from the third

ward of Worcester, Mass. Of the three-thousand voters in his ward only thirty-

six are colored.

The Crisis 1918 P. 296.

H. M. St. Laur has been re-elected City Councilman of Cambridge, Mass.

The Crisis, October 1918. Page 294.

Attorney Robert L. Vann, of Pittsburgh, Pa., has been appointed Assistant City Solicitor.

The Crisis May 1918. P. 35.

Dr. E. P. Read, a colored man, has been elected magistrate for the small Cause Court of Camden, New, Jersey.

The City Council, of Urbana, Ohio, has a Negro member, J. A. Brown.

The Crisis May 1918. P. 36.

Political—1918

Office Holding

TREADING ON OUR "CORN."

Our attention was called—on Saturday—to a hand bill—which was being widely distributed in the vicinity of Central and Scoville avenues—with the following headlines, in big black type:

"IS A NEGRO A CITIZEN?"

IN RUSSIA, YES! IN AMERICA, NO!

A close inspection of this "strangely-headed" hand bill showed that it was being spread in behalf of "votes" for the Socialist Congressional candidates, Messrs. Tom Clifford and C. E. Ruthenberg. In furnishing the arguments used in the hand bill to support the consistency of the query: "IS THE NEGRO A CITIZEN?" reference was made to the recent arrests of Ross. D. Brown, Philip Randolph and Chester Owens, Colored Socialists, while addressing meetings in this city. The assertion was made that "The United States Constitution gives to the native born American citizens, white or black, the same rights, and that the three Colored men, Messrs. Ross. D. Brown, Philip Randolph and Chester Owens, were denied their constitutional rights."

Then with much bravado and assumed dignity the writer of the argument says:

"If you are not willing to fight for your constitutional rights, you do not deserve enjoyment of them. You can answer this discrimination in only one way—by voting against those responsible for the outrage. You can grin and bear it, or you can protest by voting the Socialist ticket, especially for Tom Clifford and C. E. Ruthenberg for Congress, who stand for the following demands: That the Negroes be accorded full benefits of citizenship—political, educational and industrial; that Congress shall enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, by reducing representation in Congress to such states as violate the letter or spirit of the amendment."

Now, we are willing to confess that all this latter paragraph makes excellent reading, and, besides, it is the hope of the Negro that such things will eventually come. But that is not what this editorial is written about. We have a real "bone to pick."

It is this:

These Socialist friends of ours, while no doubt zealous, ought to give the Colored people more credit for having common sense than is apparently given in the heading of this hand bill.

We were taught by axiom one, in "Euclid," that THINGS which are EQUAL to the SAME are EQUAL to EACH OTHER, hence if the arrest of Ross. D. Brown, Philip Randolph and Chester Owens, Colored, while exercising the right of free speech, can be construed as QUESTIONING the CITIZENSHIP of the Negro, then, verily, the ARREST AND CONVICTION of Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist presidential candidate, and many other WHITE MEN of the same persuasion as the Colored ones, DOES QUESTION the CITIZENSHIP of THE AMERICAN WHITE MAN.

But such a question, if advanced, would be "pooh-poohed," and likewise, MUST BE, with reference to the Negro.

While we no doubt have many gullible ones within our ranks, we would have the Socialist gentlemen understand that some of us have a "wee drop" of that thing called common sense, and resent any undue advantage being taken of our "innocently-ignorant" brother, for the sake of any set of politicians—Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, or else.

THE NEGRO IS A CITIZEN IN AMERICA. This for the

information of the Socialist gentleman or gentlemen who wrote the circular and caused it to be distributed among the Colored people in Cleveland.

WANTED

A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS

Amsterdam News

12,000,000 NEGROES

The Republican and Democratic Parties have persistently refused to give the Negro an Equal Chance for Elective Representative in Congress.

It was left to the Socialist Party, which has received practically no support from the Negroes, to give them an opportunity to ELECT ONE OF THEIR RACE TO THE CONGRESS OF THE NATION.

George Frazier Miller, the Candidate for Congress from the 21st Congressional District on the Socialist Party, is a fearless and intelligent champion of the RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO AND THE WORKING CLASS.

Won't you let YOUR DOLLARS FIGHT TO PUT HIM THERE?

LET US MAKE THE SLOGAN OF 12,000,000 NEGROES "ON TO WASHINGTON."

THE NATION'S EYES ARE UPON YOU - "DO YOUR BIT"

Make all remittances payable to LOUIS W. GEORGE, Treasurer, Miller Victory Fund, Room 505-7 East 15th St., New York. ACT QUICKLY

Defender Causes Rigid Inquiry Concerning Chicago Brutality

Defender

The brutal actions of the police in making the raids upon places of recreation and amusement in the Second ward on Sunday morning a week ago has caused a widespread feeling of indignation among the people residing in this political subdivision. On every hand indignation is voiced because the police felt that the ordinance was being violated, but on account of the wild west brutal methods that characterized their conduct. Aldermen Anderson and Jackson, appreciating the fact that the police exceeded their authority in carrying out these raids, and that without these raids, and disclaiming any scene language and brutal treatment defense for whatever violations of the ordinances or laws that the places may

information is (supported by persons with whom I have talked, who are willing to appear and testify under oath) that the officers entered, furnished their revolvers, cursed patrons, divided them into groups according to their residence location and racial identity, assaulted one person with a blackjack, and generally displayed wild western frontier tactics in carrying out this raid. In more than fifty cases, my information is, white people were asked where they lived, and upon ascertaining that they were residents of the north side, west side or the extreme south side, as the case may have been, they were told to "get out of here and go back where you live, and don't let me catch you in these nigger places any more." Witnesses can be produced on this.

"In the cases of the clubs raided my information is that they are chartered clubs, the membership of which is exclusively Colored. My investigation further discloses that no notice or complaint had ever reached the commanding officer of the district to the effect that any of these places were violating the ordinances or laws. This, I understand, is customary before intervention from the chief's office.

"In all of the cases where the raids were made and persons arrested they were taken to outlying stations, booked open, which had the effect of rendering it impossible for friends or relatives to either ascertain where they were or get them out if located. This condition continued, I am informed, as to these arrests from 24 to 40 hours, during which time they were incarcerated in stuffy cells and allowed no communication with the outside world. I personally called up several stations and located in two instances (47th and Halsted and Deering stations) some people in whom I was interested. The commanding officer informed me that he could not do anything, as the cases were government cases and beyond police control. Developments since, even from the lips of the chief, if he is quoted correctly in the Chicago Tribune, shows that the representation of government orders was absolutely untrue.

"As a representative in part of the Second ward, I am unable to understand why the State Council of Defense and the police department seem to feel and upon that feeling act, that the Second ward is the only place in the city where anything unlawful occurs.

"I resent this aspersion upon my ward and my people, because they are just as law-abiding and peaceful as any other people in any other section of the city.

"Recently the State Council of Defense charged the Second ward with being the moral cesspool of Chicago. Then, as now, I resented it, and I proved from statistics in the police department that the violations of the moral sections of the code had decreased 80 per cent in the Second ward in one year. I sent a copy of the report of my investigation to Mr. Insull, likewise Chief Alcock. I afterward had the satisfaction of having Mr. Insull of the State Council of Defense tell the Committee on Home Defense that he was in error in making that statement.

"May I not point out to you the singular significance of a wholesale raid in the Second ward on the morning of the day that you were advertised to address the Colored people at two of the largest churches in the Second ward? May I not also point out to you the significance of the Chicago Tribune being the only morning paper that con-

tained publication of these raids of any club, or clubs are permitting the first page of that morning's edition and the announcement on another page that you were to address the Colored voters of the ward on that day?

"Finally, may I not also call your attention to the fact that since these raids have been made, there has been created an impression among a large proportion of our population in the Second ward that such unheard of methods could not have been resorted to without the knowledge of the mayor?

"This, personally, I know is not true, but the impression has been created, and now, myself and others who believe in you will be compelled to redouble our efforts to regain the lost ground resulting from this outrageous and brutal policy of the police. Sincerely yours,

"LOUIS B. ANDERSON,
"Alderman Second Ward."

The mayor immediately upon the receipt of the communication, sent for Alderman Anderson and Jackson and in conference after listening to their protests, which backed up in every particular the communication above set forth sent by Alderman Anderson, he immediately sent the following communication to the general superintendent of police:

"Mr. Jno. H. Alcock,

"Acting Gen. Supt. of Police.

"Dear Sir: I enclose a letter from Alderman Louis B. Anderson of the Second Ward, which explains itself. The alderman is not given to exaggeration, as I know him.

"If his information is correct regarding the notions of the police, it is my opinion that the responsible officers should be suspended and called before the Civil Service Commission for trial.

"Trusting that I may receive a report in this matter at your earliest convenience, I am,

Yours very truly,

"WM. HALE THOMPSON,

"Mayor."

When discussing the matter with a representative of the Defender, Alderman Anderson said, "I wish it distinctly understood that I am not attempting to interfere with the police department in the administration of their office with regard to suppressing any form or forms of violations of either the laws of the state, ordinances of the city or rules of the police department. My complaint is, and upon that complaint my protest is based against the manner and method of brutality; the vicious and decidedly un-American conduct on the part of the police in carrying out and exercising their authority. I do not wish to be understood as meaning that the police should handle situations of this kind with kid gloves, but I do wish to be understood as insisting that when this character of arrests are made, such conduct as flourishing revolvers, cursing patrons, dividing them in groups according to their racial identity, calling them 'Niggers' must not and shall not be tolerated, at least without protest from me. One of the things that seems to me to be extremely uncalled for and opposed to all sense of justice and fair dealing, was the taking of the people in these raids to out-lying stations and completely cutting them off from communication with relatives and friends, and holding them from 18 to 34 hours without being booked. The offenses for which they were charged, even if they were guilty, did not warrant such treatment. To permit these things to go on without protest, only tends to encourage the police in re-

peating this character of brutality. If any club, or clubs are permitting gambling the police should suppress them. If any place of amusement is run in a disorderly way, they should suppress it, but they have no right to employ the methods of the 'Dark Ages' in carrying out their attempts to suppress. That is my position in this matter."

Alderman Jackson in commenting on the matter said, "I quite agree with Alderman Anderson in everything that he has done and I have been active in co-operating with him to see that the character of brutality, insults and abuse of authority on the part of the police, which characterized their actions in this raid are stopped. I have no sympathy with violators of the law and do not want to be understood as upholding any violations of the law, but I am interested and will use my power officially or otherwise to see that any official (police or otherwise) is sternly and sharply dealt with who oversteps their authority, in the manner and way which appears to have been true of the police in this case. It seems that whenever the police get into the Second Ward where the Colored people constitute 80 per cent of the population, that they invariably exhibit wild west show methods under the pretext of suppressing violations of the ordinances or laws. We never hear of it in any other sections of the city and I propose to go the limit in seeing that the offenders who are guilty of these outrages on the citizens of the Second Ward are brought to time and made to realize that they cannot come into the Second Ward and display these frontier tactics and get away with it. Alderman Anderson and myself can be depended upon to see this thing through as it bears upon that phase of it which relates to the brutality of the police and the attempt on their part to draw race lines on patrons of public places."

NEGRO REPUBLICANS FORM STATE ORGANIZATIONS

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Representatives from many sections of the State, in pursuance to a call issued by John W. Thompson, attended the conference Thursday of last week at the A. M. E. Zion Church, when a new political organization, known as the Colored Republican Council of New York State was formed.

The following officers were elected: Hon. E. A. Johnson, New York City, president; John W. Thompson, Rochester, first vice-president; William H. Talas, Buffalo, second vice-president; Joseph Hawkins, Albany, third vice-president; George W. Derham, Rochester, secretary; Miss Katherine Beard, Rochester, stenographer; Mrs. Susan Morse, Buffalo, state organizer; the Rev. A. S. Mayes, chaplain; Frank Marshall, sergeant-at-arms. Mr. Thompson was named chairman of the Executive Committee and empowered to appoint a representative from each Congressional District a member of the committee.

LILY WHITES VS. DEMOCRACY

Hon. Perry W. Howard was duly elected national committeeman of Mississippi.

On Feb. 12, 1918, at St. Louis, Mo., the Republican National Committee will meet.

It is announced that at this meeting the "Lily Whites" will appear to contest the right of Mr. Howard to assume and discharge the functions of the office to which he has been elected by the Republicans of his state.

Perry W. Howard is a successful Republican attorney of Jackson, Miss., and a representative citizen of national repute.

The "LILY WHITES" are a certain white element in the south who masquerade under the banner of the Republican party for the sake of national office only, but who insist upon practicing the baneful principles of southern Democracy: That the Colored citizens have neither the right to vote nor to hold office, however intelligent, worthy or wealthy.

The "LILY WHITES" have been appropriately referred to as REPUBLICANS FOR REVENUE ONLY. They have been the successful enemies of the Republican party and the country.

They profess to believe, and have so impressed the Republican party, that by the elimination completely of the certain Republicans a strong and growing Republican party can be built up in the white south. No wilder delusion ever deceived any people.

For nearly twenty years the Republican party unwisely acquiesced in the sway of "LILY WHITE" doctrines, only to find the Republican party growing weaker and weaker in the south and the nation.

During this time the "LILY WHITES" have kept the Republican party divided in leadership and openly at war with its cardinal doctrines, and in violent opposition to the true principles of American democracy.

In abandoning the rights of Republican citizens in the south and refusing to protect them in their constitutional rights of life, liberty and the right to participate in the government under which one lives, in the interest of capital, the Republican party began that abandonment of human principles and that temporizing with great and growing political evils which finally undermined and overthrew the Republican party in the confidence of the American people, in the most significant and far-reaching period in the history of the world.

Will Republican leaders at St. Louis continue the folly of their predecessors? If they do, there will be no resurrection of the Republican party.

The southern citizen is offering his life and wealth to his country in the fight to make the world safe for democracy.

He is entitled, and in the future will insist, that his own country be safe for democracy, and that he be given equal opportunities to enjoy the civilization which he has given so much to develop and preserve.

The adoption of the "Lily White" doctrines at St. Louis will put the finishing death strokes to the possible restoration of the Republican party to national influence and power.

Every citizen is requested to write his national committeeman to save the Republican party at St. Louis by affirming the election of Perry W. Howard of Mississippi.

PRES. WILSON

NOMINATES

R. H. TERRELL

The Freeman April 17, 1918
(By R. W. Thompson.)

(Special to the Freeman.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 16.—President Wilson a few days ago sent to the Senate the nomination of Robert H. Terrell to succeed himself as Justice of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia. The nomination is now in the hands of the Committee on the Judiciary and it is expected that confirmation will be ordered as soon as a vote can be had in the executive session of the Senate.

This is Judge Terrell's fifth appointment on the municipal bench. He was first named for the place in 1902 by President Roosevelt, largely upon the recommendation of the late Dr. Booker T. Washington, and he has since been renominated each four years as his terms expired. He is the only colored man of the six justices of the court, and is senior in point of service. Judge Terrell is a graduate of the law department of Harvard University, and is universally conceded to be one of the ablest and best equipped jurists in the District. His two nominations at the hands of a democratic administration is a record-breaking achievement and a distinct compliment to the race and to the splendid man so honored. Judge Terrell is a man of the people, popular alike with the masses and the classes, and is public-spirited, to the last degree. He is in demand on all notable occasions as a speaker, and is facetiously dubbed "the Mayor of Colored Washington." For several years he has been a member of the faculty of the law department of Howard University.

Ald. Anderson and Jackson

Secure Another Appointment

Willis Jefferson, 3424 Columbia avenue, has been appointed school census supervisor of the Second ward upon the recommendation of Aldermen Anderson and Jackson. His headquarters will be at the Doolittle school, 35th street between Rhodes and Cottage Grove avenue. This is the first time that a member of the Race has been appointed as supervisor of a district, and this is due entirely to the untiring energy of Aldermen Anderson and Jackson. This is another feather in the caps of the two leaders of the Second ward. Mr. Jefferson came to Chicago in 1894 as a graduate of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and is a lawyer by profession. He is now connected with the Fred K. Bartlett Real Estate Co. Ever since he has been in Chicago, Mr. Jefferson has been in politics and an ardent Republican. His first public office was that of police clerk, and has since been probate and circuit court clerk. He has nineteen enumerators under him. His first appointment was Mrs. Florence Edmonson, 3830 Rhodes avenue, as his clerk. There are fifteen members of the Race and four whites.

Political-1918

Office Holding

SOCIALISM PLAYS SELFISH GAME WITH HARLEM'S VOTERS

The New York News.
The Voice of Harlem Today Points Out the Perfidy of Socialism and the Danger of Democracy.
10-24-18.

Socialism is playing a game in Harlem today which under other and less critical circumstances would be negligible. But so close is the contest, so disastrous may be the margin of votes which the Socialist party may receive in the Twenty-first Congressional District that its effect may be disastrous upon the immediate political fortune and future of the black race in this country. Not only can colored citizens who are patriotic not afford to support Socialism but all those who have a care for the cause of their race's political welfare. The situation demands plain speaking lest a few misguided colored voters stray from the straight and narrow path of their duty, lest they thereby cheat their whole people of the coveted goal of a square deal by Congress during the next two fateful years. To that end the calm sober consideration of every colored voter is invoked that he may see the danger not only of Democracy but the dire selfishness of Socialism in its attempt to divide and befuddle the colored voters. Over and above all Socialism in its natural aspect is a cloud lowering upon the horizon of America, black and today a patch no bigger than a man's hand. From the danger of this cloud developing into a cyclone sweeping all in its pathway to confusion and destruction we warn you.

Socialism Invented in Germany

Socialism does mean the diabolical and dangerous doctrine of common ownership and anarchy as founded by Karl Marx of Germany many a generation ago and as applied in a practical way in the terrorism of Lenine and Trotsky in Russia today. Socialism is for your country and for you the reign of terror, the arson, the rape and pillage of Bolshevism. It is only the law of might and of no government in the hands of the mob as applied by the crack-brained whites in the backwoods of the South. The American Republic shall become the beacon light of liberty lovers the world over, where men can stand as high as they can build regardless of race creed or color. It is ordained and written in the stars. You doubt the divine will of an all-wise and all-powerful Providence if you doubt this future for the world and your country. You owe it to

yourself and your children as a patriotic American citizen to toil forward in the strife fearing nothing and despairing never to make this—your country—one of established justice and well ordered law and liberty. You must press forward. You will not innocently break down the bonds of civilization to plunge your race again into Klu-Kluxism and your country into Bolshevism.

Socialism—the rule of the mob—is these only by another name. Your fortune and your future are bound up not in the shifting sway of the ignorant and the prejudiced masses of Socialism, but in the good government of the best and bravest under representative government—Republicanism.

Socialism's Treachery in Harlem

Nothing more diabolical in its effect has been done by an enemy of the political equality of the race than the clumsy and conscienceless scheme of the Socialists to invade black Harlem. Caring nothing for the welfare of the people whom it hypocritically professes to serve, it has put two colored candidates for the New York State Assembly against the two colored candidates of the Republican party, whose chances for defeating the white Democratic candidates would otherwise be perfect. We submit this to you: Is this sincerity on the part of Socialism or treachery? If Socialism had been sincere in its love for the race would it not have run colored candidates in other districts where other colored candidates are not running? Would this not have shown good faith and sound friendship for black people? Would they not have run colored candidates, let us say, in East Side Socialist districts, where they had a chance of winning. Would not this have proven the Socialist profession of equality and fraternity. Does not the Socialist party in running colored candidates in Republican black districts where colored candidates are running indicate that neither for money or other selfish consideration the Socialist party is serving purely selfish ends at the expense of the black race?

Nor can the excuse be made that colored Socialist candidates could be found in only Harlem Districts. The colored candidate for Congress against John A. Bolles, the tried and trusted friend of the colored race, is the pastor of a Brooklyn church. Brought to Manhattan to the only district where the black race has a chance to unite its vote at this crucial time, this estimable pastor, but a political innocent and amateur, has allowed himself to be made the catspaw of the most unscrupulous and irresponsible band of politicians that New York has ever seen. The Socialists are seeking to commit a crime against the future of the race in Harlem and thus in the Nation. Will you repudiate this? Will you on November 5 turn the Democratic party out of power in the Congress and install a Republican House? You can do this only by voting for John A. Bolles.

ALDERMAN JACKSON HONORED

Selected by wealthy and influential white citizens as Chairman of the Local Board on Reconstruction. Organization of the Reconstruction committee to provide jobs for the re-

Judge W. W. Maxwell, Hon. Chas. C. Roe, William Black, Major R. R. Jackson and Chas. B. Travis. Dr. A. R. Johnstone, the chairman of Local Board No. 4, called the meeting to order, explained the work of the committee and presented the name of Major Jackson for chairman of the committee. 11-23-18
Selection Unanimous

The Major's selection was voted unanimous and Mr. Travis was made the secretary. The newly elected chairman, the only member of the Race to receive this distinguished honor in the state of Illinois, himself a veteran of two wars and one of the few officers of the present day to be retired from the army after 25 years of long and honorable service, immediately set the committee to work to prepare for the home coming of our boys, most of whom are members of the 365th, the 370th (old 8th), the 803rd and 812th infantries. Secretary Travis was ordered to prepare an alphabetical list of all men who have been inducted into the army from Local Board No. 4 with their addresses, trade and occupation and the name of their employer at the time of their call into the service. This list will be used to secure the return of their former jobs of all men who desire to resume their former employment. All those wishing new jobs, same will be provided and secured for them.

No Politics

The Major declared there would be no politics in the work of the committee. The work is to be that of civic duty and of a strictly patriotic character. Plans were adopted for combining mass meetings of soldiers' relatives for consideration of the soldier employment problem and the committee is indeed fortunate to have among its members, Senator George W. Dixon and Dr. A. R. Johnstone, two of the six white members of the committee, who have for some years taken a kindly interest in the happiness and welfare of the Race. The same can be said of Judge Maxwell and the Honorable Chas. C. Roe.

Alderman Jackson on behalf of the committee asks for the co-operation of all citizens and especially those of the Race who have to do with the life of our people. You are asked to tender your services in aid of those who will come out of the army to battle with the reconstruction period. We are asking for our share of President Wilson's democracy, let us then measure up to the standard of the same. If we would enjoy the blessings of our country, we should at least bear a part of its responsibilities.

Get ready for the glorious return of our boys, call at Secretary Travis' office, 3333 State street, and register your name for the home coming. Let us reinvent the word welcome and destroy forever the word farewell. The Major will be on duty at the office of the board 7:00 to 9:00 p. m. every Monday, Wednesday and Friday nights.

TULSA, OKLA., WORLD
MARCH 21, 1918

The attempt of farmers to get out candidates for governor in harmony with their interests is some slam on F. M. Gault, who has considerable pretensions along agricultural lines.

The Tulsa Star, the negro organ of Tulsa, in unmistakable terms advises the negroes to swat the Republican city ticket and vote for the Democrats.

turning soldiers was completed Monday night at the headquarters of Chicago's eighty-six reconstruction division. Local Board No. 4 met at the office of the board with the following well known citizens and members of the board and district present: Senator George W. Dixon, Dr. A. R. Johnstone.

"WHITE PRIMARY VS. WORLD DEMOCRACY"

The Atlanta Independent

In this mighty world war which has shaken both the Eastern and Western continents from center to circumference, the slogan has been, "Make the world safe for democracy," which, in effect, means to mete out to all mankind equal and exact justice without regard to race, color or creed. If President Wilson had given utterance to nothing else but the phrase, "make the world safe for democracy," he would have been entitled to imperishable fame. He spoke the sentiment of mankind the world over; it voiced their longings and aspirations. For without it—life is not worth living; with it, earth is next to Heaven. No wonder Patrick Henry's name has been rumbling down the ages, who declared, "Give me liberty or give me death;" and ever since it was spoken, more than one hundred and fifty years ago, it has reverberated around the world. It has been told in song and story, in one way or another, ever since, and will continue to be told until every subject race everywhere shall have liberty and freedom. That is the principle for which black men and white men are sacrificing their lives in France, Belgium and other countries. They mean to make it an accomplished fact for the subject races of Europe, as well as those in America, for in our country as well as in Europe, people have been deprived of their God-given rights. The heels of oppression have been placed on their necks. They have been slaves. The Negro was in bondage for nearly two centuries and a half and, even today, he is not in the full possession of his rights as a free American citizen. He has been a subject race like the Poles, Slavs and the other subject races of Europe, and is looking forward with happy anticipation that this world's struggle will bring him the year of jubilee.

The white primary is inconsistent and antagonistic to the world's conception of world democracy, for it means an election in which only white men can vote. It means anything to bar black men from the basic right of true democracy as promulgated by President Wilson and the great men who are liberating sixty million subject races in Europe from the bondage and tyranny of Germany.

What a foul blot upon the escutcheon of the South to undertake to perpetuate such a wicked and un-American law as the "white primary" law. It is entirely out of harmony with America's free institutions, and the great principles for which the world is fighting today. It is a discordant note to the great world symphony now on the scene. It contradicts all that the world's statesmen are standing for today; it contradicts everything that is being done by the Versailles Conference that has just adjourned in France. The Independent is reminded of what Demosthenes said in addressing his countrymen when Phillip of Macedon was waging war against Greece: "Oh, Athenians, when I compare the action of some among you with your speeches, I am at a loss to reconcile what I see with what I hear." When we hear our white neighbors talking about making the world safe for democracy and appealing to white men to come out and to uphold the iniquitous and undemocratic white primary to bar black men and women in their full rights in a government based upon the consent of the governed, we feel as this renowned orator and statesman did: "Oh, white men of the South, when we compare your profession with your action, we are at a loss to reconcile what we see with what we hear." The white primary is contrary to the spirit of the age; contrary to the doctrine and teaching of the renowned statesmen of the world; contrary to the sacrifices black men are making to bring liberty and freedom not only to the subject peoples in Europe, but to themselves as well, against whom all kinds of intimidations and discriminations are made. It is unjust and unfair, and does not comport with the spirit and spirit of the American theory of government. For the American theory of government is a government that derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. The Negro knows this, and he will not rest contented until he shall receive every right guaranteed to him by the Constitution of the United States and the several states; for this he is bleeding and dying; for this he is willing to lay down his life. All he asks is a square deal, equal and exact justice. Is not his white neighbor fair and just enough to accord him this? Would they fight for it in Europe and deny it

to their black neighbors at home? God forbid!

When this war for democracy has been ended, the Negro will ask for no special favors, but will expect the same treatment accorded to all other men, without regard to race, color or previous condition of servitude.

MISSOURI, WEST VIRGINIA, ILLINOIS, OHIO AND NEW YORK TO HAVE NEGRO ASSEMBLYMEN AT THEIR NEXT SESSION

The election of colored men to the Legislature in Missouri, West Virginia, New York, Illinois and Ohio is generally regarded as a distinct advance in public sentiment on the question of the Negro holding representative elective positions. Of the nine race men chosen at the polls November 5, it is doubtful if there was one who could have been victorious without the aid of white voters.

Missouri furnished the biggest surprise, the Republicans of the Fourth District sending William M. Riley, an optometrist, to the Lower House of the Legislature over his white opponent. This is the first time in the history of the State that a Negro has been selected to the Legislature.

West Virginia did itself proud by choosing three colored men for the Lower House—J. V. Coleman, H. J. Capehart and T. G. Nutter. This is said to rival the record of any State since the days of Reconstruction.

J. V. Coleman of Fayette County was formerly postmaster at Kimberly. He is engaged in the production of coal. H. J. Capehart of McDowell County is an attorney at law, as is T. G. Nutter of Kanawha, who is Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias of West Virginia.

Both Fayette and McDowell counties have had colored legislators before, but at no time has there been more than one colored representative in the Legislature. The nomination and election of the three colored men is considered remarkable in view of the fact that in none of the counties which they represent is there a majority of colored voters. In McDowell County the per cent is thirty-four, in Fayette County, twenty-two and in Kanawha, ten.

It was at first thought that two colored men would sit in the New York Legislature from the Harlem District, but complete returns indicate that E. A. Johnson was defeated by his Democratic opponent, John J. Healy, in the Nineteenth Assembly District. However, John Clifford Hawkins came out winner in the Twenty-first Assembly District. Mr. Hawkins is a lawyer, and formerly was a clerk in the Post Office. He has been practicing law for about three years. E. A. Johnson was the first Negro to be sent to the Assembly serving his constituents for one term—the last session of the Legislature.

Illinois, the same as West Virginia, elected three colored men to the State Legislature. They are S. B. Turner of the First District and Adelbert Roberts and Warren Douglas of the Third District. This is the first time that the race will be represented in the Illinois State Legislature by three Negroes. All are from Chicago.

A. Lee Beatty, a lawyer, was swept into office Tuesday week as a member of the Ohio Legislature from Cincinnati by a large plurality

WEIL ELECTED ON STATE COMMITTEE

St. Louis Argus
First Colored Man in Many Years to Receive This Honor From Republican Party in St. Louis—Unanimous Support of Voters of Twelfth Congressional District Is Pledged to Hon. J. C. Dyer.

At the meeting of the Twelfth Congressional Committee, last Tuesday, J. M. Weil was elected a member of the Republican State Committee. This honor being bestowed upon Mr. Weil by the committee is the unusual in St. Louis politics and is accepted by the Negroes as an indication that the Republicans in St. Louis are ready to give the Negro some representation and voice the party councils.

Mr. Weil was, at the time of his selection, attending the meeting of the National Negro Business League sessions at Atlantic City, N. J., and when informed by wire of his election, sent the following telegram:

Telegram

Atlantic City, N. J., August 21, 1918.
J. E. Mitchell,

2341 Market St., St. Louis, Mo.

I am very grateful to you and my many friends for your support in my election. I will do everything in my power to assure the continuation of that office for our people.

Faithfully yours,

J. M. WEIL.

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Office Holding

Miller, Negro Socialist Choice for Congress, Founded Radical Body

N. Y. C. CALL

NOVEMBER 4, 1918

Dr. George Frazier Miller, candidate for Congress is the 21st district was born in Aiken, S. C., November 28, 1864. He was the youngest of six children.

Miller at a nearly age showed indications of his future career. When he left the public and private schools, he took preparatory and collegiate courses at Howard university. He was graduated from that institution in 1888 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. In the fall of the same year he matriculated at the General Theological seminary of that city from which institution he graduated.

Dr. Miller entered the graduate school of philosophy of New York university in 1901, took a post graduate course and devoted special attention to the philosophy of religion, logical science and metaphysics. He wrote a syllabus on logic, unpublished, which won the approval of Prof. James E. Lough, Ph. D., of the department of logic and psychology. He has written numerous tracts, essays and pamphlets on Socialism and its ethical basis. In recognition of his scholarship and literary attainments, the faculty of Howard university conferred upon him the degree of doctor of divinity.

Dr. Miller has been pastor of St. Augustine P. E. church, in Brooklyn, since 1896. During his pastorate he made great improvements in the church.

Founded Niagara Movement.

He was one of the founders of the radical organization known as the Niagara movement, projected in 1905 on the Canadian shore of Lake Erie, to combat the spirit of self-effacement, retreat and surrender, which he termed a withering blight that seemed to have overcome the intelligence and manhood of the Negro race.

Dr. Miller has been a member of the Socialist party during the past 12 years and has always proved himself a capable and courageous defender of the oppressed. He is now the Socialist candidate for Congress in the 21st district.

On one occasion when questioned as to how he became a Socialist he said:

"I was once an ardent Republican, but after a period of blind following, the fact of the Republicans' abandonment of their espousal of human and universal liberty was borne in upon my consciousness through their flagrant prostration before the money powers of the land. Their one advocacy was, finally, a high protective tariff which was highly inimical, and in no wise beneficial, to the interests of the blackman and the whole of the working class. The spirit of John Brown, Wendell Phillips, Joshua Giddings, William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, Owen Lovejoy and Frederick Douglass would loom up magnificently only in the golden October days, and as meetings distinctively Colored, simply to fade into glorious obscurity, when the polling day had closed. Noting all this, I resolved to be no longer duped by the wiles and chicanery of Repub-

Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom, a negro, as the Congressional candidate of the district in the Twenty-first Congressional District election, to be held March 5.

Adams, in his objection, asserts that the petition is insufficient, invalid, and illegal, in that many of the names appended to it are not bona-fide signatures; that the petition lacks an emblem, as required by law, and that no notary public witnessed the signatures of many on the petition.

The petition having the requisite number of signatures, has been accepted by the Board of Elections. It was stated by an official of the board that Mr. Adams would have to take his objection before the courts.

Fifteen candidates have been nominated in the four Congressional districts in this city in which special elections will be held. The time for filing certificates of nomination expired Saturday midnight, and some of the candidates barely got in with their complete-nominating petitions because of procrastination or incomplete knowledge of the election day.

Mrs. Mamie W. Colvin, whose husband has several times been a prohibition candidate for office, was named at the Prohibition candidate for House of Representatives, in the twenty-first district. Charlottee Smith, of 2136 Seventh Avenue, tried to file a nominating petition as the candidate of the Single Tax party, but as the petition did not have the required number of signatures the Board of Elections rejected her certificate of nomination.

Corrected returns show that 37,623 voters in the Seventh and Eighth Congressional Districts, Brooklyn, and in the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Congressional Districts, Manhattan and Bronx, registered on Friday and Saturday. As only those men voters who had moved into or within the districts, or who had become of voting age since the 1917 registration were required to register politicians estimated that 35,000 of the registration represented women voters.

30,000 IN ONE DAY.

In the five hours of registration on Friday about five thousand women registered. In the fifteen hours during which Boards of Registry sat on Saturday, about 30,000 women registered. The following table shows the total registration in the four Congressional districts, not including those voters registered in 1917 and entitled to vote at the forthcoming special elections:

7th Congressional District.....	8,116
8th Congressional District.....	11,589
21st Congressional District.....	31,562
22d Congressional District.....	6,355
Total	37,623

The total male registration in 1917 for the four Congressional districts was 131,000. Of this number more than 25 per cent. of the women registered.

in which women registered last, week as follows:

A. D.	Regist'd at gen'l elec. of Nov., 1913.	Vote at sp' elec., 1914
13.....	6,798	1,471
19.....	14,906	1,771
20.....	7,574	1,321
21.....	12,235	1,501
22.....	8,031	1,761
23.....	25,984	4,211
	75,528	12,047

"Look at the figures for the Seventh and Eighth Congressional Districts:

A. D.	Regist'd at gen'l elec. of Nov., 1913.	Vote at sp' elec., 1914
1.....	8,078	1,711
2.....	6,140	841
4.....	8,680	1,258
9.....	16,311	1,856
14.....	6,831	930
16.....	19,434	2,724
	65,474	9,324

"Special elections, therefore, may be conceded to command less than one-sixth of the attention of men that general elections command, whereas they command more than one-quarter of the attention of women, and, at that, women who have never voted before, who labored under the disadvantage of not having the registration date set until within three or four days of the date the four districts was 130,022. If women voters had registered in the same proportion there would have been 131,210 women voters registered Friday and Saturday.

Because of the discussion aroused by the first registration of New York's new women voters, the National American Woman Suffrage Association has issued a statement in which it lays stress on the fine showing made by the women vote as compared with similar records made by men.

SAYS WOMEN DID WELL.

"The only fair basis for comparison said Miss Rose Young, director of the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education, is the record made by men in the case of special elections. According to figures currently accepted, the total number of women who might have registered Friday and Saturday in the four Congressional Districts in which elections are to be held was 131,000. Of this number more than 25 per cent. of the women registered.

"To show what a remarkable demonstration this was in the case of a special election, contrast with it the record made by men voters in 1914, when a question of such State-wide importance as the making of New York's Constitution was at stake. The total registration of men voters in New York city in 1913 for the general election was 667,609. The total New York city vote on that vital question of a new constitution was 103,400. That is to say, only about 16 per cent. of the men carried over from the registration for the general elections in 1913 cared enough about a State Constitution to go and vote for it at the special election of 1914.

"Again look at the deadly parallel between the registration figures at the general election of November, 1913, and the vote at the special election in 1914, to decide on a constitutional convention, in the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Congressional Districts, two of the district that they had to go and register, not to mention the added disadvantage of a violent snowstorm and only a day and a fraction in which to register, as compared with a whole week allowed to men.

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"From all which it may be surmised that, bolster up men's interest in politics as you may, concede them all the special privileges that you will, make it as hard for women as you choose, you are yet likely to get from women a more vigorous reaction in the way of political interest than you are likely to get from men."

KANSAS CITY MO STAR
APRIL 2, 1918

NORMAL VOTE DOWNTOWN.

Labor Claims Early Strength Up to Expectations.

Early reports received at the board of election commissioners were that Republican workers in the First Ward precincts were challenging practically every voter they did not know personally. This was in line with the announced determination of the Republican organization "to keep down the lodging house vote."

The first trouble reported from the Eighth Ward was in the Fourteenth Precinct, 1429 East Nineteenth Street. The Democratic judges of election insisted the Republican judges, both negroes, place the Democratic ballot on top when handing out the three city election ballots. Louis Oppenstein and R. E. O'Malley, election commissioners, went to the precinct and told the officials it made no difference which ballot went on top.

Mrs. Henry N. Ess, Citizens' ticket candidate for the board of education, telephoned the board of elections before 8 o'clock that in the Ninth Precinct of the Fifth Ward, at 305 Independence Avenue, the judges were not handing out the school ballot on which her name appeared. David Russell, deputy election commissioner, went to the precinct and told the judges they must be careful to give every voter all the ballots.

At the headquarters of the Citizens' (Labor) party, it was said the situation "looks good, and the vote is up to expectations." At 8:30 o'clock this morning the following labor vote was reported:

In the Eighteenth Precinct of the Thirteenth Ward, twenty out of thirty votes cast; Ninth Precinct of the Fifth Ward, fourteen out of forty-one; Eighth Precinct of the Sixth Ward, nineteen out of thirty-one; Seventh Precinct of the Sixth Ward, seventeen out of thirty cast.

The only precinct in which it was reported the Citizens' ticket was running behind expectations was the Seventh of the Fourteenth Ward (Bonaventure hotel) the ticket received only four of thirty votes cast.

Republicans are relying on a big vote for the Citizens' ticket to defeat the Democrats.

At Republican headquarters the challengers in the Second, Ninth and Fourteenth wards reported a big for the Labor candidates. Reports from the Fourteenth Ward shortly before noon showed the following distribution of votes: Fifteenth Precinct, 17 Labor, 23 Republican, 22 Democratic; Fourth Precinct, 27 Labor, 24 Republican, 24 Democratic; Eighth Precinct, 19 Labor, 29 Republican, 15 Democratic; Ninth Precinct, 21 Labor, 25 Republican, 23 Democratic.

Republicans are banking their hopes on the late afternoon vote. Even in the 'Black Eight,' the Republicans' stronghold, the early vote was reported not to be up to normal.

In the North Side wards, the Democratic stronghold, the early vote was reported to be normal.

Later, the Republicans became more cheerful as reports came in from the residence wards, Southeast, Northeast and East. In the Tenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth wards the early vote was "better than expected," it was said. At 9 o'clock it was estimated from forty-five to fifty votes from an average of two hundred and fifty registered had been cast in the precincts of each of the three wards.

In the Fourth Precinct of the First Ward ninety of a registered vote of 276 had voted at 9:30 o'clock. The Democratic workers said they would have almost the entire vote of the precinct in by 5 o'clock tonight.

In Charles Clark's precinct, the Second of the First Ward, sixty-seven votes had been cast of 270 registered. In the Fifth Precinct, John Pryor's own, seventy-five votes had been cast.

In the Eighth Ward a concerted effort is being made to defeat W. C. Hueston, negro Republican candidate for alderman. L. A. Knox, negro Independent candidate, is his chief opponent.

The report reached the election commissioners early today the police were being used in the Eighth Ward to intimidate negro voters. H. H. Crittenden and John E. Wilson, members of the board, went immediately to the Eleventh Precinct of the Eighth Ward, where they found two negro policemen had stood inside the polling place and had watched the negroes voting. The policemen had not been assigned to that polling place. The election commissioners ordered all policemen to remain outside the polling places and to go inside only when requested by the judges of election.

Before the polls were opened, it was reported, many kegs of beer, valued at \$1,000 were distributed in places near the polling places in the rooming house precinct for the benefit of the thirsty voters.

Clarence Groves, negro Republican precinct captain, was arrested early today and held at police headquarters for investigation. He was arrested near the polling place of the Fifth Precinct of the Eighth Ward, 1708 East Twelfth Street.

THE NEGRO AGAIN A NATIONAL POLITICAL FACTOR

Some years ago there was considerable complaint about the Negro's undue influence in national politics. This was one of the arguments that led to his disfranchisement in the South, and to-day, in most of the Southern States, his vote is practically nil, and, as far as the South is concerned, his influence in politics, local, State and national, is not considered. The very process by which Southern politicians eliminated the Negro from national politics is now proving to be the very method that is making him more formidable in national politics than heretofore and, no doubt, more secure. The immigration to the North has already influenced, in a very pronounced way, national politics, and the Negro promises to become as troublesome as heretofore. There is not much doubt but that the election of a Republican Senator from the State of Missouri, in a very large measure, was made secure by the large influx of Negroes from the South into the State of Missouri.

Another indication of the influence of the Negro in politics is that nine Negroes have been elected to the State Legislatures in the States of Missouri, West Virginia, Illinois, Ohio and New York. West Virginia furnishes three. The election of these men in West Virginia is considered all the more remarkable because in none of the counties which they represent is there a majority of colored votes. These three colored men came from McDowell, Fayette and Kennewa Counties in the State of West Virginia, and these counties have, representively, a colored vote of 34, 22 and 10 per cent.

The oppression of the Negro in the South and his unwanton disfranchisement has been another case of kicking him upstairs and changing the figure of a rabbit in the briar patch. The Negro will be welcomed into the political situation in the Northern States, whatever may be the complexion of his individual vote. He will be welcomed by all parties alike and sought by all parties, and because he will divide his vote he will be secure. He will be all the more secure in his new enfranchisement in the Northern States by the fact that no other State in the Union will disgrace itself by such discriminatory enfranchisement laws and laws so worded as appear on the statute books of our Southern States with the motive of contempt for that law sticking out of all the windows of the law. We repeat, no State in the Union will submit itself to such disgrace as this era of war began, included among its matter of major importance a prolonged conflict over the

are contrary to the spirit of true American democracy. So that the Negro going North has made himself once again of tremendous influence in the political life of the Nation. And in any section of the South, where oppression and discrimination keeps up, the Negro will be moving to the North, and our Southern friends are simply working to their undoing when they refuse to meet terms with the Negro and keep him at home by granting him his due representation at the ballot box and equal justice in the courts, and other measures that mean for us life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. If the Negro is forced to go North, he becomes a deciding factor in the political life of the Nation.

JERSEY CITY N J JOURNAL
JUNE 6, 1918

PACIFYING COLORED VOTERS.

Governor Edge's State Boxing Commissioners have revoked Rule 35 of the State Athletic Commission. This rule prohibited boxing bouts between white and colored exponents of the manly art of self-defense, and announcement of its incorporation in the boxing code created such a Statewide protest from colored men that the withdrawal of the offending ban on "mixed bouts" was simply a question of time.

Though all three Commissioners went on record as being determined to enforce the rule, they saw a "great light" when S O S signals were wig-wagged from Trenton to Atlantic City, East Orange and Elizabeth, the homes of Commissioners Smith, Crain and Cann, respectively. Colored men can vote for United States Senatorial candidates just as white men can.

DETROIT FREE PRESS
MARCH 14, 1918

FEARLESS OF THE FUTURE.

We are told pretty frequently that there is to be a new world after the war, and the prophecy certainly seems to have found belief in the mind of the author of a bill just introduced by Chairman Flood, of the foreign affairs committee of the Washington house representatives. Mr. Flood is a Democrat, and southern Democrat at that, and if he did not expect an entirely new state of affairs hereafter he would surely think twice about fathering a law of the kind he is offering—and after his second thought would decline paternity.

This Virginian representative proposes by his bill to annul the laws of some fourteen states which give the right of franchise to aliens holding only first papers. Michigan is in the fourteen, as we claim among our electors male inhabitants of the state who reside in Michigan and had declared intention to become citizens two years and six months prior November 8, 1894, but the bill now introduced aimed at Missouri, Nebraska and South Dakota where there is a considerable first-papers German vote, it seems. The purpose—wholly commendable it should be said, whatever amazement one may feel at the means used to attain it in this instance—is to insure against the possibility of a German-tainted poll in these states.

The history of the world, as it was made before this era of war began, included among its matter of major importance a prolonged conflict over the

subject of congressional control of elections in states and some of the most bitterly contested struggles in congress have been waged on the issue. When the Republicans were in power they passed so-called "force" laws, asserting authority in congress to supervise elections, and when the Democrats secured control of the government they repealed the objectionable legislation. Later the Republicans, having renewed their hold on the three branches of law-making processes, tried once more to enact the laws, but a filibuster in 1891, which was joined in by some Republicans, prevented the fruition of the plan, and it has been hanging in abeyance ever since. The bitterness of Civil war rancors had pretty well abated and, although the proposed measure was entirely within the constitution and indeed was intended to carry a constitutional amendment into effect, it was felt that restored good feeling between the north and the south made forcible assertion of rights discourteous.

The same sentiment does not sway the southerners themselves, apparently. They have in the recent past asserted the right of congress to interfere in and control state elections in northern states and the same principle is involved in this new bill of Chairman Flood from Virginia. As we have said, the purpose of the bill is wholly commendable. Our elections should be free from pro-German taint. But resort to a force bill to accomplish that purpose, in view of the long record of opposition to that form of legislation on the part of its present sponsors, implies a positive conviction in their minds that the past is indeed dead and the dead will never return. Other wise they would hardly be providing such a remarkably pat precedent for Republicans to appeal to when their turn at power came around and they decided that Negro Republicans in the south should have their constitutional right to cast their ballots.

REMOVE MISS CARTER AS HOUSING BUREAU HEAD

Washington, D. C., Nov. 22.—Quite a stir was created when the announcement was made public that Miss Jeanette Carter had been removed from the service of the United States Housing Bureau of the Department of Labor. The appointment of Miss Carter as chief of the housing division of the Housing Bureau was made only a short time ago, and general satisfaction seemed to have attended the selection. Her salary was fixed at \$1,400 a year. The matter of difference in opinion in placing the Housing Bureau under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Negro Economics of which Dr. George E. Haynes, formerly a professor at Fisk University, is head, seems to have caused the shake-up.

In submerging the Housing Bureau in the Bureau of Negro Economics Miss Carter's authority as head of the housing division would be greatly diminished, and her salary decreased. Miss Carter refused to accept the position at a less salary, and with lesser authority in her division and her removal was obtained.

Protest was at fever heat when it was learned that Dr. Haynes had secured the appointment of a man, coming from outside the District of Columbia, to fill the place made vacant by the removal of Miss Carter. Due to her popularity in this city much interest has been centered on the affair

Office Holding.

WHY DEFEAT DEMOCRACY?

The New York News
Isadore G. Miller and Dudley D. Cole, two expert colored chauffeurs, one of whom at present is acting in the same capacity at present for the Government, wishing to do their bit at the front answered Monday the full page advertisement running in the New York dailies for "20,000 Gas Hounds and Auto Drivers Wanted at Once for Overseas Service." At headquarters they were told the positions were "for strictly white." One said he was white and his application so signed was accepted. The darker one registered as "Black." His application was rejected. We now have it on file. A competent young colored lady answered on Monday morning the full page advertisement now running in the New York dailies "Turn Your Typewriter Into a Machine Gun." She was told point blank that colored typists were not wanted. At the office which declared "Typists and Stenographers, Your Government Needs You in War Work." A few hours later one of those racial monstrosities, a national colored Democrat, came into the New York News office and bandily asked what improvement would Republicans be over Democrats? He then recited the fact that disfranchisement was born and reached fruition under Republican administrations. This we admitted was true, to the eternal disgrace of the Republican party. But, we continued, not only does the black race suffer now from those ills it long has suffered but from a thousand fresh wounds in addition inflicted by the Democratic administration. Whatever may be the heart of the Republican party toward equal opportunity for the black race today that out of purely selfish reasons the Republican party will henceforth once it is returned to power stand by the black man closer than a brother. We then produced the evidences of the sway of Democracy in the Nation at a bloody vital time like this. These are only three of thousands of cases of colored men and women turned from the war work at which they are best fitted by the minions of the Democratic party now in power at Washington. This is the measure of Republican superiority over Democracy. However sincere and sympathetic a President like Woodrow Wilson might be when in power he is surrounded by a sea of Negro-baiting, unpatriotic Americans, who know only the test of color. This is the real reason why every black man and woman with one ounce of manhood or womanhood in them must vote to turn the Democratic Congress out and put a Republican Congress in. We say to you:

Whatever are your grievances against the Republican party, however strong your misgivings as to the strength of the friendship of this or that Republican Congressional candidate for your race, we, as colored citizens, owe it to our country and ourselves

to defeat the Democratic party in the Nation in November. For four years the dog of Democracy, including every Southern scoundrel and scalawag who could curse the colored people loud enough to be elected, brought the Nation to the verge of despair and destruction. In the security of all is entrenched the safety of each. For this reason, if for no other, every black man beneath the Stars and Stripes owes it as his first duty to his country to put forever to an end that weak and vacillating Congress responsible for these examples of autocracy at home. But for reasons only slightly, if any less dearer to the heart of every colored citizen worthy of the name, we must defeat the Southern race-haters now holding such frightful sway at Washington. Above the questions of protective tariff and sound banking systems, both of which the Democratic party has set aside, and both of which affect black citizens in the same measure as they do white citizens, come the questions of their rights as men and as citizens, come the questions of not only their right to vote and the right entailed thereby, the right to have that vote honestly counted, but the question of their right to representation as well as be represented in their own government. Every race-hating Bourbon in office in Washington, in Mississippi, or in New York, has been but another nail driven into the coffin wherein colored men's civil rights have been buried for six years. The register of the political advance of the black man since slavery has been the measure of the treacherous and cruel destruction artfully worked out for him by Messrs. Wilson, Vardaman, Tillman, Hoke Smith, et al., up until the outbreak of the war against Germany. Every appointive position of trust and prominence stolen, every civil service job possible swept away by subterfuge, the colored citizen stands alone in the open Democratic field of ruin. Besides the question of putting an end to his country's and his own further disaster in these respects all others pale into insignificance. The candidates of the Republican party we shall discuss more fully later. To-day suffice it to say they stand out as compared against the Democratic doctrinaires and demagogues who will be candidates as the sunlight of mid-day against the darkness of midnight in a beclouded, trackless forest. Colored voters in every Northern and border State, whose elections they control and whose control are the pivot of the Nation's elections, must organize, and at once, to defeat Democracy in November. The pulpits as well as the press must join hands with the people in this sacred race duty. As you love yourselves, your children and your future, you can and you must defeat Democracy.

Bob Church Elected National Committeeman; Koens Defeated

Memphis, Tenn., Aug. 10.—Robert R. Church and his Lincoln League, embracing all the leaders in this city and county, together with the praying women, snapped the political chains of the south at the election held Thurs-

day. Every candidate supported by the Lincoln League except one, Ed Bell, was elected. The suit case Democrats and back-sliding Republicans got cold feet, as

was expected of them, and refused to go to the ring with Church. At the last minute his managers pulled Barker down, as the Defender said would be done, leaving Mr. Church and Sam Murray as the lone candidates for membership on the Republican state committee and primary board.

A Memorable Day
The Commercial Appeal, as usual, made its dirty appeal to race hatred by printing an attack on Mr. Church the day before election. The miserable little press "me-tooed" the old journalistic harlot, but the first-class white people of Memphis and Shelby county would have none of this, for only a few days before they had seen a thousand Race boys march away to die for even the no-accounts like the grammarless editors and white dive dealers who tried through the newspapers to fasten their fangs in the throats of young Race men and women. It was a memorable day when the best among both races stood together against the Tate-Hayes-Mooney combine.

Church Committeeman
Robert R. Church is now the only Race man in Tennessee having membership on the Republican state committee and state primary board. Mr. Church invited the one-gallus gang of watchful "Republicans" to come to the field, but they knew better. It is likely that Barker was brought out for the very purpose he served. The next time the primary is held there will be a question to put to "Deacon" Gene Murray. The main one is, what and whom does he represent? He's got to speak up.

T. Giles Nutter Elected to West Virginia Legislature
Charleston, W. Va., Nov. 15.—Resulting from Tuesday's election, the Colored men will have seats in the lower house when West Virginia's legislature convenes next January, rivaling the record of any state since the days of Reconstruction.

The successful candidates, nominated in primaries and elected on the Republican ticket, are: J. V. Coleman of Fayette county, formerly postmaster at Kimberly, now engaged in the production of coal; H. J. Capehart of McDowell county, an attorney-at-law, and T. G. Nutter, former grand exalted ruler of the Elks, at present grand chancellor of the Knights of Pythias. Mr. Nutter is also an attorney.

Both Fayette and McDowell counties have had legislators before, the former three and the latter one, but at no time has there been more than one representative in the legislature of our Race.

The nomination and election of these men is considered remarkable for the fact that in none of the counties which they represent is there a majority of our voters, the per cent in McDowell being 34, Fayette 22 and Kanawha 10.

A MERE MATTER OF JUSTICE

As a mere matter of simple justice the Negro voters of St. Louis, are asking for Negro representation in the polling places where the Negroes have large majorities.

Committeemen whose duty it is to recommend these appointments, give no particular reason for not wanting Colored men to serve as judges and clerks of the election, but the voters see a sinister meaning in the persistent failure on the part of the Committeemen to grant the Negro the natural right which belongs to him.

There is a general feeling of **Resentment** on the part of the voters, and the leaders are expressing doubt as whether they will be able to deliver successfully for the G. O. P. at the November election, unless these conditions are changed.

They are pointing out that in the Sixth and Seventeenth Wards the Negro votes are in a large majority. In the Sixth Ward the registered vote is as follows:

PRECINCT	WHITE	COLORED
8	173	200
10	86	272
11	87	203
13	81	352

In the Seventeenth Ward the registered vote is as follows:

PRECINCT	WHITE	COLORED
5	68	264
10	110	171
15	64	238

Thus the Negro is contending for judges and clerks in the above named precincts as a **Matter of Simple Justice.**

The Election Commissioners are ready to appoint the Negroes. It is up to your Committeemen to recommend.

ALTHOUGH we have had Negroes in our diplomatic service as Ministers Plenipotentiary, and Negro Collectors of Internal Revenue, as well as Negro officers in our Army, graduated from West Point, yet Edward A. Johnson, the Republican Assemblyman of the Nineteenth District of Manhattan, is the first of his race to be elected as a representative of this great metropolis in the State Legislature at Albany. That he is a man of exceptional ability is indicated by the fact that the population of the district which has returned him is two-thirds white and only one-third colored. He hails from North Carolina, graduated from the Atlanta University, served two years as Alderman in his native city of Raleigh, was for nine years Assistant United States District Attorney there, and has sat in Republican National Conventions as a delegate from his home city. For the past eleven years he has been practicing law in New York, has written several books, including a history of the Negro soldiers in the Spanish-American war, and is the editor and publisher of the "Negro Almanac and Statistics," a most useful and standard work of reference chock full of "colored" information. He is often to be seen at the Lafayette Theatre, on Seventh avenue and One Hundred and Thirty-fifth street, frequented exclusively by well-to-do members of the colored race, and where Shakespearean dramas and ultra-modern plays are given every night by a very clever company of entirely Negro talent. It is one of the most curious and interesting theatres in town—one of the sights of the city which often attracts strangers but that is apparently ignored by the vast majority of the people of New York. The late Sir Herbert Tree, on the occasion of one of his last stays in New York, attended a Shakespearean performance there in his honor, and delivered an address from the stage, escorted by an Othello whose hue was black by nature instead of by artifice.

Mayor Thompson Will Stand by Perry Howard

Chicago Defender By George W. Ellis
Honorable Robert S. Abbott, Editor of the Chicago Defender, has launched in the most practicable and forceful form a national movement to have Hon. Perry W. Howard of Mississippi seated upon the National Republican Committee, which meets in St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 12, 1918.

Editor Abbott invited a number of prominent leaders in Chicago to confer upon a course of action in behalf of Mr. Howard. Among them were Edward H. Wright, Assistant Corporation Counsel of Chicago; Louis B. Anderson, Alderman of the Second Ward; George W. Ellis, Assistant Corporation Counsel of Chicago; Dr. A. J. Carey, pastor of Institutional church; Major Robert R. Jackson, Representative Third Senatorial District and Republican organization candidate for Alderman Second Ward; Edward D. Green, formerly Representative First Senatorial District; S. B. Turner, Editor of Illinois Idea, and Benjamin H. Lucas, Representative First Senatorial District.

The conference received the proof that Perry W. Howard was duly elected by the Republicans of Mississippi, called together regularly by the chairman and secretary of the Republican State Central Committee. It also received the basis and grounds upon which Howard's seat is to be contested before the Republican National Committee.

The conference reached the conclusion that the Lily Whites of Mississippi, who constitute a minority of the party in that state, desire to have Howard unseated because he is a member of the Colored Race, although Howard was undoubtedly elected by a great majority of the Republicans of Mississippi, under the call of the Republican State Central Committee of Mississippi.

The conference is strong for Howard and decided to appeal to the Race in every state to address the National Committee of the Republican party to stand by Howard at St. Louis if the party desires the future support and loyalty of our people over the country. It was decided to make a stand-up fight for Howard and to never give up until he takes his seat upon the National Republican Committee.

The following persons waited upon Mayor William Hale Thompson, Republican National Committeeman from Illinois, and presented the Howard case: Robert S. Abbott, Edward H. Wright, Louis B. Anderson, Robert R. Jackson and George W. Ellis.

The National Committeeman from Illinois is known to be just and fair to our people; but he gave new assurances of his true American manhood in behalf of Mr. Howard, and announced that if he were elected he would stand by him until he took his seat. Mayor Thompson is the greatest friend the Race has had in high office since the days of Lincoln.

The conference in Chicago urges all our people to get busy at once and see to it that the Republican National

Committeeman from your state gets the facts in the Howard case and see to it that he stands for Howard at St. Louis with William Hale Thompson of Illinois for right and justice to our Race in Mississippi and the nation.

NEGROES PLAN FOR CAMPAIGN

Independent Voters to Figure In United States Senatorial and

Local Contests.
NEWARK N J LEDGER
AUGUST 20, 1918

At a meeting of county and city executive committees of colored voters of Essex county and Newark held yesterday afternoon 100 independent and progressive negro voters were appointed to arrange for a mass meeting of colored voters of the county and city to line up the race in the local fight for members of the Assembly. According to the request of several colored organizations, Rev. S. L. Corrothers, pastor of Zion A. M. E. church, Pennington avenue, will act as chairman at the conference, which probably will be held next week.

Independent and Progressive negro leaders will hold a state convention in Newark the afternoon and evening of Monday, September 9, at which time there will be an open and free discussion of the economic, civil and political status of the negro citizens of New Jersey. The independent organization has forty-two branches in the State and an enrollment of between 23,000 and 25,000 members. There are now between 60,000 and 65,000 negro voters in the State.

Discussing the forthcoming conference yesterday afternoon Rev. Corrothers said that one of the main questions to be settled is whether or not the negro shall remain as a tool of the Republican party or arise and assert his liberty and vote for men and measures like all other intelligent groups of men.

Steps also will be taken during the conference to see to it that negro leaders take a hand in the county contest in every contest where the negro vote is a factor.

Dr. Corrothers, who is president of the national and state organizations of independent negro voters, declares

that the negro vote will decide the senatorial contest. Discussing this matter yesterday he declared:

"Since we must decide, we propose to know what is to be given in return for our vote. The negro does not owe any political party in the country anything. Fifty years is long enough to work to pay any debt. The candidate who secures the vote now of the intelligent, thoughtful negro, must stand for something definite as it relates to the rights of the negro."

NEGRO CANDIDATE FOR ALDERMAN IS APPROVED BY CRANE

Eighth Ward Republicans Put Question Directly Up to Leaders.

KANSAS CITY MO POST
MARCH 12, 1918

Negroes in the Eighth ward "put it directly up to" Cyrus Crane, Republican candidate for mayor, and Eugene H. Blake, city comptroller, last night as to whether they had any objections to William Hueston, negro, running side beside with white men on the Republican ticket.

Crane answered for the Republicans, declaring Hueston had a right to run on the ticket. Tom Marks, Republican boss, declared he would assume all responsibility, if there was any, for Hueston being on the ticket.

"Why, my dear friends," Crane said, "the matter already has been put up to us. And I was the first candidate, and I am glad to say it tonight, who was called upon to say what he thought about a ticket with a colored man on it. Here are the other gentlemen who can bear witness of what I said."

"When they asked me, I said the answer was very simple. If any man had any reason to get off the ticket because a colored man was on it it must be on one or two things, it must rest on his prejudice, or it must rest on his fear, because, as I said to them, and say it now, you have a right to have a man on the ticket—and that is a real right. I stand for the right and take the consequences, whatever they may be."

"You can be proud of your Republican nominee for alderman of this ward as proud as any ward in the city can be of its selection."

PATERSON N J EVE NEWS
APRIL 30, 1918

Colored voters of Essex county are determined to have one of their race on the Republican Assembly ticket next fall and with this end in view more than 200 citizens of the county met last night at 21 Nesbit street and selected Hamilton Travis of East Orange as the man, and pledged \$500 as a campaign fund to carry out their plans. A campaign committee was appointed, consisting of Walter Darden, R. T. Reed, Louis Biggers, Albert Fletcher, J. W. Hudson in every contest where the negro vote is a factor.

The selection of Mr. Travers was unanimous.

Political—1918

Office Holding

Texas G. O. P. Puts Out Ticket

Houston Observer
Despite War Times Several Hundred Delegates Were Present—Women Delegates Among Those Present From Both Races—Hon. Charles A. Boynton, Waco, Nominated as Standard Bearer for the Texas G. O. P.—Democratic Party of Lone Stardom Flayed—Chief Executive Criticised for Interfering in State Politics.

REPUBLICAN STATE TICKET

Governor—Charles A. Boynton, Waco.
Lieutenant governor—John C. Scott, Corpus Christi.
Chief justice supreme court—G. N. Harrison, Brownwood.
Associate justice—C. O. Harris, San Angelo.
Judge court of criminal appeals—Harry Wurzbach, Guadalupe County.
Treasurer—J. Allen Meyer, Bryan.
Attorney general—U. S. Goen, El Paso.
Railroad commissioner—George W. L. Smith, Rusk County.
Comptroller—W. G. McLain, Ellis County.
Commissioner general land office—J. L. Hickson, Cooke County.
Commissioner of agriculture—D. H. Merrill, Leon County.
Superintendent public instruction—Mrs. Ralph W. Sellers, Val Verde County.
United States senator—General Webster Flanagan, Rusk County.
State chairman—Phil E. Baer, Paris.
Vice chairman—George F. Rockhold, Dallas.

* * *

The Republican State Convention was held in the banquet hall of the City Auditorium Tuesday and after the usual period of hot air and wind jamming, committees were appointed and a session was taken until 3 p. m. State Chairman Phil E. Baer presided and Rev. John E. Green invoked divine blessings and guidance upon the deliberations of the convention. Music was furnished by a band.

For the first time in the history of the party women delegates represented their counties in the convention, both races having female delegates present. Galveston County had three colored female delegates: Mesbours, Galveston; William M. (Goosedames N. A. Bradley, L. A. Pinkneyneck Bill) McDonald, Ft. Worth, Jno. and Miss Ethel Shenall. After the convention the colored women perfected an organization to be known as the Texas G. O. P., who has at the Republican Women Voters' League since the original meeting in 1868

of Texas, with Mrs. Bradley as president; Attorney A. G. Perkins, Galveston, chairman legal advisory board and Hon. W. E. King, editor Dallas Express, chairman council committee.

The sessions of the convention proper were very harmonious, the only prolonged debate being on the anti-prohibition plank submitted during the afternoon, dealing with local option for beer and light wines after the war, which finally passed 78 for and 53 against; National Committeeman H. F. MacGregor contending that it would "get votes."

The main burden and chief theme of the convention was the winning of the war and that speedily. Woman suffrage, complete and full, was endorsed. Mob law was denounced and the San Antonio Express endorsed for its anti-lynching fund. A colored regiment of Texas guardsmen was favored and the legislature implored to grant one such organization in the State.

SOME OF THE PLANKS.

"We favor speeding up in every way an efficient and effective organization of men, equipment, ammunition and supplies for the prosecution of the war until a just peace can be obtained; so that the principles enunciated by that great republican, Abraham Lincoln, of a government of the people, for the people and by the people may not perish from the earth; but that these principles be extended to all governments and guidance upon the de-mentations throughout the world.

"We favor the repeal of the present election law and the substitution of a sane, fair and undesirable one."

A league of nations was favored after the war for the protection of the world.

Speeches were made by Rev. A. Barbour, Galveston; William M. (Goosedames N. A. Bradley, L. A. Pinkneyneck Bill) McDonald, Ft. Worth, Jno. and Miss Ethel Shenall. After the convention the colored women perfected an organization to be known as the Texas G. O. P., who has at the Republican Women Voters' League since the original meeting in 1868

held in Houston. He is still a live wire and was nominated for position as U. S. senator on the ticket.

Some of the colored delegates were: Hon. W. M. McDonald, Ft. Worth; Hon. W. E. King, Dallas; Rev. A. Barbour, A. G. Perkins, W. H. Wilson, Galveston; J. W. Flournoy, Chapel Hill; Prof. J. E. Clayton, Manor; F. R. Bluestein, Orange; Jno. M. Adkins, W. L. McCoy, E. O. Smith, Wm. Nickerson, Jr., Ed. H. Williams, Ed. E. Jones, Wm. (Bill) Jones, C. F. Richardson of The Observer, et al.

Despite this being an off year, it was decided to wage a vigorous and active campaign and poll all the votes possible for the G. O. P. and thus begin the laying of a foundation in Texas for ultimate victory for the republican party in the State.

SOCIALISTS

RALLYING

The Communist News
With the Lynchers and Burners of the South

10/30/18
Trying to Defeat Our Candidates in the Interest of Southern Democracy

Meyer London, a Socialist Congressman from New York, voted with the Democrats to organize the last Congress. Will English Walling, in the Sunday World of October 27, announces that the Socialist Democratic League is committed to the Democratic party.

A vote for a Socialist is helping to defeat the Republican party and keep in power a Southern Democratic Congress in Washington. How can the colored man ever hope to get rid of Jim Crow cars, disfranchisement, lynchings and burnings with the Southern Democrats in power at Washington. The Socialists do not expect to get elected themselves, but hope to defeat the Republicans and thus keep Democrats in power.

Don't be misled by their false promises. They have ruined Russia and they will ruin America if let alone. If they wanted to elect colored men to office as they try to make colored voters believe, why do they come to Harlem and put up colored candidates against our colored nominees, Johnson and Hawkins.

Don't take any stock in such movements. Colored voters have been working for many years to get just one man in the legislature and now comes the Socialist Bolshevik crowd to take even this man away from us by false promises and misleading statements.

Don't fail, voters, to come out on election day early and promptly to help bury this political crowd so deep they will be beyond resurrection.

Recommendations as to the Candidates

Evening Express
THE policy of the Evening Express in these times is to advocate the reelection of State, County and Municipal officials who have rendered good service and against whom no reasonable criticism can be directed.

The Evening Express recommends to the voters the reelection to office of incumbents who are candidates for reelection save only in those instances where such incumbents have failed to measure up to the responsibilities of their office or are otherwise disqualified.

As to State offices the Evening Express recommends Stephens for Governor, Young for Lieutenant Governor, Edwards for Secretary of State, Chambers for Controller, Richardson for Treasurer, Webb for Attorney General, Kingsbury for Surveyor General and Wilson to be a member of the State Board of Equalization.

As to State Supreme Court the same rule of reelecting the incumbents applies. Justice C. D. Wilbur and Justice William G. Lorigan are incumbent candidates for reelection to the State Supreme Court. It should be borne in mind, moreover, that Judge Wilbur is not only a candidate for the full term, but also for the short term that intervenes before the full term begins. His name, therefore, appears on the ballot twice, and citizens should vote for him under each designation.

Associate Justice William P. James of the District Court of Appeal is a candidate for reelection and should receive general support.

There are two candidates for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Edward Hyatt and Will C. Wood. Mr. Hyatt is the incumbent, but here, unhappily, the policy of reelecting the incumbent cannot be maintained, for Superintendent Hyatt is unfortunately physically incapacitated to discharge the duties of the office. The best interests of the schools of the State require the election of Mr. Wood.

The judges of the superior court of Los Angeles county who are candidates for reelection should receive the support of all voters. They are Judges Avery, Houser, McCormick, Rives, Valentine, Wellborn and York. If any individual citizen is possessed of reason why he should not vote for all of the incumbents, the merits of the following candidates are well worthy of consideration: Henry J. Stevens and Walton J. Wood.

Judge Weller is a candidate for an unexpired term as judge of the superior court and should receive support.

The policy of supporting incumbents for reelection applies to the candidacy of John C. Cline for sheriff and Ed W. Hopkins for assessor. It applies with equal force to the candidacies of Supervisors Hamilton and Woodley for reelection from their respective districts to the Board of Supervisors.

Six justices of the peace are to be chosen for Los Angeles township and five justices of the peace for Los Angeles city. In the main the policy of reelecting incumbents applies here as in other instances. Justices Brown, Forbes, Hanby, Hinshaw and Palmer are candidates for reelection, and either H. P. Wood or William S. Baird deserve consideration in filling the sixth place in the list of township justices.

In like manner Justices Chesebro, Crawford and Frederickson are among the justices of the peace of Los Angeles city whose record fairly entitles them to ask reelection, and William D. Mc-

Connell and Joseph F. Chambers are among the new candidates who might be voted for to fill out the list of five justices of the peace of Los Angeles city who are to be chosen.

In respect of the candidates for the Legislature, we give herewith the recommendations of the United Dry Forces:

STATE SENATE

Twenty-ninth District—No recommendation.

Thirty-fourth District—CHARLES W. LYON (Rep.-Proh.) or JOHN P. STEELE (Dem.).

Thirty-sixth District—WILLIAM J. CARR (Rep.-Proh.).

Thirty-eighth District—HENRY H. YONKIN (Rep.-Dem.).

ASSEMBLY

Sixty-first District—JOHN ROBERT WHITE, Jr. (Rep.) or ARTHUR G. LINDLEY (Dem.-Proh.).

Sixty-second District—GEORGE R. WICKHAM (Rep.).

Sixty-third District—SIDNEY T. GRAVES (Rep.).

Sixty-fourth District—GEORGE A. LYNCH (Rep.-Dem.).

Sixty-fifth District—JOHN H. DAWSON (Dem.).

Sixty-sixth District—THOMAS L. AMBROSE (Rep.).

Sixty-seventh District—FRANKLIN D. MATHER (Rep.-Proh.).

Sixty-eighth District—HENRY A. MILLER (Rep.-Dem.-Soc.-Proh.) or C. W. GUERRIN (Ind.).

Sixty-ninth District—HENRY W. WRIGHT (Rep.-Dem.-Proh.).

Seventieth District—FRANK F. MERRIAM (Rep.-Dem.-Proh.).

Seventy-first District—HENRY E. CARTER (Rep.).

Seventy-second District—ALEXANDER P. FLEMING (Rep.-Dem.).

Seventy-third District—ELMER P. BROMLEY (Rep.-Dem.).

Seventy-fourth District—FREDERICK M. ROBERTS (Rep.).

Seventy-fifth District—EDWIN BAKER (Rep.).

Following are the endorsements made by the Association for Betterment of Public Service:

STATE SENATE

Twenty-ninth District—DWIGHT H. HART (Ind.).

Thirty-fourth District—CHARLES W. LYON (Rep.-Proh.).

Thirty-sixth District—No recommendation.

Thirty-eighth District—HENRY H. YONKIN (Rep.-Dem.).

ASSEMBLY

Sixty-first District—JOHN ROBERT WHITE, Jr. (Rep.).

Sixty-second District—GEORGE R. WICKHAM (Rep.).

Sixty-third District—SIDNEY T. GRAVES (Rep.).

Sixty-fourth District—GEORGE A. LYNCH (Rep.-Dem.).

Sixty-fifth District—GEORGE M. EASTON (Rep.).

Sixty-sixth District—No recommendation.

Sixty-seventh District—No recommendation.

Sixty-eighth District—No recommendation.

Sixty-ninth District—No recommendation.

Seventieth District—No recommendation.

Seventy-first District—HENRY E. CARTER (Rep.).

Seventy-second District—ALEXANDER P. FLEMING, (Rep.-Dem.).

Seventy-third District—ELMER P. BROMLEY (Rep.-Dem.).

Seventy-fourth District—No recommendation.

Seventy-fifth District—EDWIN BAKER (Rep.).

REPUBLICANS MUST STRENGTHEN PARTY
There seems to be quite a deal of unrest among the Negro voters at this time as never before in St. Louis. Times and conditions have wrought wonderful changes and Negroes are thinking as never before. They have begun to realize their powers and possibilities more fully than they have heretofore.

A careful survey or inquiry among the leaders, and even the masses of Colored people, will show, that their complaint is based on the fact that the Republican leaders do not give the Negro the just recognition in the party councils, nor a reasonable amount of the spoils of victory.

Hon. Frank M. Slater, committeeman from the 17th Ward, has been quoted as saying that the Negroes were entitled to more consideration at the hands of the Republican Party than they have heretofore received, and that he favored a "fifty-fifty" proposition so far as endorsing justices of the peace and constables in the Fourth District is concerned. We wish to commend the spirit of such expression, coming from one of the leaders of the Republican Party in this City.

The Party leaders of St. Louis will strengthen their cause, and make sure of their success, by considering as one of their members has done, the "fifty-fifty" proposition as to the justices and constables in the Fourth District.

If the voting strength is a basis of recognition, then, the Negro is entitled to more than "fifty-fifty." If the Negro is denied a seat at the Party councils, then the Party leaders should meet the Negro councils and confer with them concerning the G. O. P. ticket.

It is to be regretted that some of the men selected by the Party leaders are known to be unfair and unusually prejudiced towards Negroes. No doubt, the leaders did not know this; but the Negroes know them. We have felt the sting of their prejudiced words and actions, and it is safe to say that such individuals will meet defeat at the primary.

The Republican Party in the City of St. Louis will need a strong ticket to win. It cannot hope to be successful by ignoring the strength of the Negro vote at this time.

THE ELECTIONS

While the Whitman forces are still denying a Smith victory it appears reasonably sure at this writing that the latter has been elected Governor of New York State. In view of the fact that the Republican machine carried the State in all other offices the defeat of the Republican nominee for Governor may be taken as a personal rebuke to Mr. Whitman.

For its majority in the Congress, attributable to the return of New Hampshire to the Republican party and the going Republican of Rhode Island and, in fact, of most of the East and West, the Republican party can thank the enlarged Negro vote brought about by the migration from the Negro hating South of hundreds of thousands of disfranchised slaves into New Hampshire, Rhode Island and most of the other Eastern, Central West and far West States.

JERSEY CITY N.J. JOURNAL

APRIL 30, 1918

EDGE AND THE COLORED MEN.

While Governor Edge is trying to make the colored voters believe that he is doing a lot for them by means of his Negro Welfare Employment Bureau, organized principally to provide jobs for a favored few Edge henchmen at the public expense, he might try something more practical by declaring for a colored man for one of the Republican Assembly nominations in Essex.

It is there that the colored Republicans are making a special effort just now to get substantial recognition. The colored men of New Jersey are not bothering so much about a job or two as they are about representation in the State lawmaking body.

Assemblyman Johnson Is Re-elected by New Yorkers

New York, Nov. 28. An enthusiastic on fire with enthusiasm over the election of Edward A. Johnson and John C. Hawkins to the general assembly Mr. Johnson, who had been re-elected by a handsome vote while Mr. Hawkins, also a lawyer and like Mr. Johnson, a fine type of citizen was given a flattering vote.

Mr. Johnson made an excellent record in the last assembly, and the friends of Mr. Hawkins expect him to make a record both as to courage and intelligence in keeping with the standard set by Mr. Johnson. The election of Johnson and Hawkins is a striking commentary on the passing of the old type of Race leader in this city, who was all for himself, and for nobody else, and whose one aim was to kill off all young men who didn't know how to be messengers at court for white Republican leaders.

COLORED MEN TO RUN CANDIDATE

ame Hamilton Travis of East Orange for G. O. P. Assembly Nomination.

NEWARK N.J. LEDGER
APRIL 30, 1918

Colored voters of Essex County are determined to have one of their race on the Republican Assembly ticket next fall and with this end in view more than 200 citizens of the county met last night at 21 Nesbit street and selected Hamilton Travis of East Orange as the man, and pledged \$500 as a campaign fund to carry out their plans. A campaign committee was appointed, consisting of Walter Darden, R. T. Reed, Louis Biggers, Albert Fletcher, J. W. Hudspeth.

The meeting was presided over by Walter Darden and the secretary was Louis Biggers. The selection of Mr. Travers was unanimous.

Office Holding

BOOZE RESENTS TRAITOR CHARGE

St. Louis Argus 3-1-18
**Says Howard Was Not Fairly Elected.
Supported Mulvihill Because Of Life-
Long Friendship. Denies Speech Re-
ported By The Press.**

In a lengthy communication to a friend this week, Eugene P. Booze, of Mound Bayou, Miss., answers the reports of his speech before the National Republican Committee at St. Louis, February 12th. After describing the local political conquest of factions and preliminaries leading to the committee meeting, Mr. Booze explains his reason for coming to St. Louis by saying:

"I had no idea of being called upon to take part in the contest until shortly before the meeting of the National Committee. Dr. Sherrod and Mr. Mulvihill requested me to meet them in St. Louis to do what I could to get the case of Mulvihill properly before the Committee. My reasons for complying with their request were these:

"First, I did not believe Perry W. Howard had been fairly elected and I wanted to lend my assistance to help break up the old method in handling committees and carrying conventions in Mississippi Republican politics.

"Second, Mr. Mulvihill and Dr. Sherrod have always been personal political friends to me and the interest I represent and I did not see how I could consistently ignore the request of friends of long standing to satisfy the whims of my political adversary.

"On the grounds set out in the above, I appeared before the National Republican Committee in the interest of Hon. M. J. Mulvihill, of Vicksburg, in his contest against Hon. Perry W. Howard, of Jackson, for National Republican Committeeman from Mississippi.

Denies Press Reports

"Now, then, as to what I have been charged with saying before the National Republican Committee at St. Louis as I have read the reports in the Chicago Defender, St. Louis Argus, and The East Tennessee News of Knoxville. I do not believe Mr. Howard would say that I used such language or expressed such sentiments. Certainly no one acquainted with my thought and action who is unbiased will believe it.

"The National Republican Commit-

tee called for the hearing of the Mississippi contest late in the afternoon of the 12th. It was understood that Mr. Mulvihill and Mr. Howard would represent and argue their own cause. No one expected to hear anything from Roscoe Conkling Simmons, or myself. But, of course, it was planned by the Mulvihill people that I should be heard if anyone else spoke for Howard. At the conclusion of Mr. Howard's masterly presentation of his weak case, and during the time Mr. Mulvihill was closing his argument, Roscoe begged Perry to let him say something. I was sitting close by and heard Perry tell Roscoe that he thought enough had been said, but Roscoe insisted and Perry consented. Roscoe jumped up and started off in his usual characteristic style, and for ten or fifteen minutes entertained and amused the committee, who cheerfully applauded him at intervals, but closed his argument in a disgusting manner by calling the members of the Committee his masters and laying seven hundred thousand voters of his race at their feet as wards crying for pity and mercy. Roscoe sat down without applause and no one shook his hand that I could see.

"And then I arose and asked to be heard for a few moments in the interest of Mr. Mulvihill. Just as I received recognition by the chairman, at the request of many voices, I heard one of the members of the committee ask, 'Is he a Colored man?' The first thing I can remember saying was: 'I am a Colored man, proud of it and perfectly satisfied to make my place as an American citizen, without any desire to be a white man, and I resent being placed at the feet of white men as a ward and that I recognize no one as my master save Him, who is the master of us all.' I told the committee that I could readily forgive Roscoe, because in his effort to entertain and please, he always drew upon his imagination without limit. That I appeared before them as an ordinary business man, representing a corporation whose business transactions last year amounted to more than a half million dollars

and they should not expect me to entertain them with the same eloquence and oratory which they had listened to from the Kentucky Colonel. That it was my object to present an argument in a straightforward business-like manner, and I closed with an appeal to the committee not to try the case by the color of the skin or the race to which the contestants belonged, and asked them after a recital of the facts, to render their verdict according to the dictates of their conscience, upon the merits of the case. Their finding is a matter of history and when correctly reported the Negro Republicans of America will not be dissatisfied with the treatment accorded the race by the National Republican Committee at St. Louis, Feb. 12th."

"Third, I contend that it is neither good religion, business or politics for us as a race, to try by unfair means and appeals to race prejudice, to crush out of prominence the few stalwart white Republicans who are able and willing to help keep the Republican party alive in Mississippi, and give the Negro a man's chance in the race of life.

"Fourth, I have known Mr. Mulvihill from my boyhood days. Our families are old acquaintances and life-long friends. He is among the few white republicans of Mississippi who have shown regard for Negro manhood, and an interest in their development. Four Negro mailing clerks and nearly all the mail carriers of Vicksburg received their appointments from his hands while he was Postmaster, and largely by his influence they are retained under the present Postmaster. He is a business man of standing and ability and enjoys the esteem and friendship of every Negro I know in Vicksburg, and I predict that under Mr. Mulvihill's reign as National Republican Committeeman, new life will be injected into political affairs of this state.

That the Essex County Colored Republican Association, Inc., stirred up a hornet's nest for itself by formally recommending Hamilton Travis as a candidate for the Assembly and raising \$120.50 as a campaign fund, is the general opinion among political observers today. Milton E. Cawley, secretary to Sheriff Flavell and treasurer of the Republican County Committee, believes the vote was a violation of Section 18 of the laws of 1918, and that the prose-

cutor will have to act if the matter is brought to his attention.

The fine distinction between the words "indorse" and "recommend" has not been ruled upon by any court or legal authority of the state and party leaders are inclined to be wary. Both words mean "to show approval of," they say. Some of the political leaders contend that recommending in the way of suggesting the names of several desirable candidates would be proper, but that a formal vote pledging an organization's support would amount to an indorsement.

The latter is what was done by the colored Republicans. According to their own report of the meeting, the action was taken by unanimous vote and a campaign fund was raised. If the matter is brought to the attention of the prosecutor he has no choice in the matter but to proceed to make an inquiry. The law not only requires the prosecutor to make an investigation as soon as he is informed of the facts, but it also requires that he shall use the attorney of any complainant as an assistant prosecutor and that he shall file in writing with this attorney the reasons for dropping a case, if one is dropped. Section 57 of the new law says he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor if he fails to do any of these things.

Want Law Defined.

Prosecutor Harrison said this morning that there had been more discussion about the entymology of the words "recommend" and "indorse" than any other he had heard in recent years, and he preferred to await a ruling from the attorney general before taking any action. Under the old system, Mr. Harrison said, it was customary for the vice chancellor, the prosecutor and the attorney general to hold a conference on the election laws and get an agreement regarding constructions of various phrases. This system is not being followed at present.

County Clerk Scott has asked the attorney general to define the law to settle a number of doubts that are puzzling him and others who ask his advice, and this definition is being awaited with general interest.

Before anything can be done with the fund raised by the association, Mr. Travis will have to make formal announcement of his candidacy, appoint a campaign manager, or name himself as his own manager and deposit the money in some bank or trust company as his campaign fund, with the names and addresses of contributors. With the deposit there must be a certificate of appointment of the campaign manager and after that all contributions and disbursements must be made through him, according to a complicated formula.

George E. Kaegi, assistant secretary of the Republican county committee, has had a book of these forms printed for organization candidates, and the town clerk of Irvington has come to the rescue of candidates there by having similar forms printed.

Homer G. Phillips Stirs Up Rivalry Between Colored Men Want Elective Office Charles Turpin and J. S. Edwards Out for Constable—Large Class of Summer Graduates.

(By J. M. Batchman.)

ST. LOUIS, Mo., June 8.—St. Louis will this year attempt something in a political way which is strange to the community, but which should bear fruit: that is elect a Justice of the

Peace and Constable over the opposition of white aspirants for the places.

In the Fourth District, Attorney Homer G. Phillips filed Friday for the Republican nomination for Justice of the Peace. There are two white aspirants for the place, Harry McChesney and Joseph L. Schuler. After the primary the Democrats will present opposition to Mr. Phillips, who will in all probability be the Republican candidate.

Negroes Should Support Phillips.

McChesney represents, in that part of the district which includes the seventeenth ward, the old Slater machine which until lately was all powerful. Recent disclosures of fraud in the last campaign, in which it appears some one manipulated things so that James Newell, the Democratic candidate, was counted out and Slater elected, when in fact Slater was defeated by approximately 800 votes, makes the Colored men chary about the honesty of past elections in which Colored men were counted out. When Slater, who is Committeeman for the ward, was elected Public Administrator, it made a vacancy in the office of Justice of the Peace in the district which Colored men felt, and so expressed themselves, because of their unflinching support of him in a district in which our people ought to be able to elect any candidate they choose.

The selection of the man to succeed Slater in the office of Justice of the Peace was up to the circuit judge. There were seventeen of them, thirteen Republicans and four Democrats—enough Republicans to control the situation absolutely. Attorney George L. Vaughn, a widely known progressive lawyer, a favorite with Colored St. Louis, was actively out for the appointment. Negro Democrats secured for him the support of the four Democratic Judges, who promised to vote for him. It happened that Frank Slater was interested in the chances of McChesney, and having just emerged from a city-wide campaign, had some strength probably beyond the confines of his own bailiwick, with the result Vaughn was turned down by a party which cannot elect a candidate in this city without the Negro vote. These thirteen judges failed us; Slater failed us; McChesney showed the usual regard for the Negro exhibited by professional politicians in that he refused to yield ground to a man more capable than himself, yet a member of a race discriminated against. The Negroes of the Fourth District have on the fifth of August an opportunity to show their mettle and place one of their number on the Republican ticket, an easy thing to do, and then if a large Republican District like the Fourth cannot elect him, the party should be held responsible for the failure.

Constables Race Interests.

Another interesting contest will be the one for Constable in the Fourth. There are two Colored men out for the places and two whites. As I remember the call, there are to be two to be nominated and two elected. There is a possibility in this situation

for some interesting politics. Mr. Charles Turpin, of the Booker Washington Theatre, and Mr. John J. Edwards, who was his deputy, is the other. Mr. Turpin has been twice elected to the place, though the last time he was denied the pleasure of filling the office by the failure of the courts to issue a writ giving him that right.

HUESTON BEATEN FOR K. C. ALDERMAN

Democrats Elect Entire Ticket By Overwhelming Majorities. Hueston Loses By Only 86

The city election, held last Tuesday was apparently a walk-away for the Democrats, that party electing every office save five Alderman of the Lower House. The interest of the Colored people was centered in the candidacy of Hon. W. C. Hueston of the Eighth Ward but by methods peculiar to Democratic politicians by intimidation and chicanery he was beaten by the small margin of 86 votes. Judge L. A. Knox, the Independent candidate for the office, ran a rather disappointing race to his friends receiving only 22 votes in the entire Ward. The Colored people are not discouraged but with the large number of houses and flats being vacated by whites in the Ward each week and being almost immediately filled by Colored people, there is no doubt but what the Negroes can nominate an independent candidate if the two old parties are not inclined to tote fair, and elect him by an overwhelming majority because we predict before the expiration of the next two years there will be less than 500 white voters residing in the Eighth Ward. No we are not discouraged. We still feel that Mr. Hueston ran a magnificent race. As for the rest of the Republican ticket the majority of the Republicans evidently feel that it met the fate it deserved.

COLORED MEN NOMINATED.

Washington, D. C.

Three Colored Republicans Win Honors.

8-24-18

Charleston, W. Va., August 10.—In the state-wide primary, held last Tuesday, three colored men were nominated on the Republican ticket in as many counties for members of the House of Delegates, the lower branch of the legislature. The nominees were: J. V. Coleman, Kimberly, Fayette County; Harry J. Capehart, Keystone, McDowell County, and T. G. Nutter, Charleston, Kanawha County.

Legislative candidates, in fact, members of that branch of the state

government, are not novelties in West Virginia, few terms having passed in the last twenty years without race representation. But at no time before have there been so many candidates, nor has Kanawha County before given a colored man a nomination, though there were two previous attempts.

The honor of breaking through the barriers came to T. G. Nutter, an attorney-at-law, former Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks, now Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias and secretary-treasurer of the bank recently organized here by colored citizens. Of the six nominated from among fourteen candidates Nutter was third.

Mr. Capehart is also an attorney, and, coming as he does from a rock-ribbed Republican county, is most certain of election. The other nominee, Mr. Coleman, is a laboring man, having worked in various capacities around coal mines all his life. He was second of the four winners among six candidates.

The colored population in none of these counties is one-sixth of the whole, that of Kanawha being only about one-tenth.

VOTERS SHOW REALITY

9-DEMOCRACY AT POLLS

8-24-18

The primary election of last Wednesday developed some new figures on the political horizon. A few people, as usual, were disappointed, which must be expected in the game they call politics. Some peculiar things occurred in the first district. The old settlers will remember that it is not the first time that peculiar things have occurred in the first district. It was there that the fight waxed warm between the Hon. Edward D. Green and the Hon. Shadrick B. Turner, both ex-members of the legislature and both rivals for a seat in the general assembly.

Turner Beats Green

Brother Green was backed by the Hon. Edward H. Wright, the heavy man on the Thompson pay roll; State Senator George F. Harding, the man who deals out the change for the brethren; Alderman Louis B. Anderson, who managed the Green campaign; Alderman Robert R. Jackson, Dr. Archibald Carey and the Hon. Samuel A. Ettleson, state senator from the third district. This brilliant array of talent and money was championing the cause of Brother Green. These gentlemen were interviewed a few days prior to the election and they stamped the "Can't lose" sign on Green. Just down the street a little further Brother Turner was met and interviewed. He had this to say: "Green's a beaten man, and I have the satisfaction of knowing that I will have not only beaten Green, but all of his backers as well." The Turner horse ran true

form, without a "political shoe" being thrown. It was Turner against the field, and Turner won. It is said by the wise ones that Turner's victory was signal in the extreme in that it was fought single-handed and alone, and yet victorious in the conclusion.

In the third district the senatorial fight between Senator Samuel A. Ettleson (white), Attorney James H. White and Attorney Augustus L. Williams was vigorously contested. In the beginning of the campaign it appeared that the struggle was between Ettleson and Williams, but when the votes were counted it was found that Williams had run a poor third and the real fight had been between Ettleson and White, with Ettleson emerging victorious by a large plurality.

Douglas Triumphed

In the same district a hot battle for legislative laurels was also in progress, with candidates too numerous to mention. Among those who emerged with banners flying were the Hon. Adelbert H. Roberts, an organization man, and Warren B. Douglas, who was backed by the younger element of that district and supported by the anti-organization forces. The Hon. Warren B. Douglas deserves much credit for having successfully "put one over" the "old-timers." His many friends wish him much success in his new venture.

On the city ticket Hon. George W. Ellis succeeded in making his "goal" in the municipal judgeship contest and was the only one on the Thompson ticket to be nominated for judge. Chas. Griffin and Col. J. H. Johnson were nominated for county commissioners from their respective organizations. We have now six candidates on the tickets for election, all of whom should receive the support of the Republican voters of the county organization. The ticket as nominated on the whole represents the highest ideals of the Republican party and should receive the support of all factions of the party.

Defender Candidates Win

Among other candidates who were specially indorsed by the Chicago Defender were Congressman William E. Mason, candidate for re-election for congressman at large; Charles V. Barrett, member of the board of review; William H. Reid, member of the board of review, and Charles Krutkoff, candidate for member of the board of assessors. The successful termination of the campaign resulting in the nomination of Congressman William E. Mason was, indeed, gratifying. His attitude on public questions affecting the rights of man admitted of no question.

MORE NEGROES ARE APPOINTED ON THE POLICE FORCE

Action Follows Recommendations of December Grand Jury and Argus Article Showing That Applicants Had Been Turned Down.

Following in the wake of the recommendations of the December Grand Jury that additional Negro policemen be appointed on the police force in St.

Louis as a means of helping to curb crime in this city, the Police Board has added two to the force and it is understood that others will be appointed. The new men are Charles "Bud-die" Johnson and John Kunz. Johnson was formerly a member of the force and was dropped during the time McPheeters was head of the Board. He has been a janitor in the coroner's office. Kunz has been janitor in Judge Henning's court.

At the time of the Grand Jury's report the Argus called attention to the fact that probably over fifty men had made formal application for appointment on the force, and the medical examiner had turned them down, claiming that not one of them had been found physically able to fill such a position.

Officer Rowell Reinstated

Alderman Louis B. Anderson again scored this week with the civil service commission by having reinstated to his position as Patrolman Charles G. Rowell, who was discharged from the force some time ago.

It will be recalled that Rowell, along with his partner, Williams, were taken over to the state's attorney's office and the state's attorney charged with being graft. Charges were preferred against them and they were tried before the civil service commission.



Officer Rowell

After the hearing the commission found them guilty and they were discharged from the police department. Officer Rowell, after making repeated attempts to get a rehearing, took the matter up with Alderman Anderson. The alderman investigated the facts in his case and concluded that an injustice had been done him. He accordingly brought the matter to the attention of the civil service commission, who after listening to his explanation,

granted Rowell a rehearing. Upon the rehearing it was conclusively shown that Rowell was in nowise guilty of the offenses charged in the original complaint and that he was largely the victim of an erroneous conclusion that he knew about the contents of the book found on the person of Officer Williams. The commission thereupon entered an order effecting the former order of this charge and ordered him restored to duty. The order was certified by the chief of police on Tuesday and Officer Rowell was notified to report for duty.

Alderman Anderson in Case

When seen by a Defender reporter regarding the case, Alderman Anderson said, "I took up this case for Rowell because I believed that he had not been given a square deal. My policy has always been to do everything I possibly could to help out persons in the service whose cases merit the degree of consideration which I was convinced was true of Rowell. I am glad that he is back and I hope he will make good. When he wanted to pay me for my service, I told him that it was my duty to do what I had done and he did not owe me a cent."

LOCAL COLORED MEN WILL ORGANIZE

ALBANY N. Y. JOURNAL
JUNE 4, 1918

Albany County Organization of State Party of Colored Voters is Being Formed.

J. W. Thompson, of Rochester, chairman of the state executive committee of the Republican Council of Colored Voters, arrived in Albany today for the purpose of forming a colored men's Republican organization in Albany county. He is being aided in this work by John N. Hawkins, of this city.

As soon as the organization has been perfected Mr. Thompson will select a delegate to the state convention to be held at Saratoga in August when the colored organized voters will meet to endorse their candidate for governor.

The organization, which is headed by E. A. Johnson, of New York, the first colored man to be seated in the Assembly, was formed early in the spring at Rochester. Its purpose is to protect the colored race from unfavorable legislation, to oppose candidates for office adverse to the interests of colored persons, to encourage the activities of colored men and women in business affairs and other matters vital to the welfare and interests of colored people in this state.

The officers of the organization are: E. A. Johnson, New York, president; J. W. Thompson, Rochester, first vice president; W. H. Talbert, Buffalo, second vice president; Joseph N. Hawkins, Albany, third vice president; George W. Derban, Rochester, secretary; Katherine Beard, Rochester, assistant secretary; J. E. Marshall, sergeant at arms; the Rev. Assellers Mayes, Chaplain and Mrs. Susie Morse, of Buffalo, women's organizer.

Office Holding

Winner's Record Is Unblemished

Our Next Alderman



MAJ. ROBERT R. JACKSON

Familiarly called "Fighting Bob," because of his readiness to battle for the Race.

G.O.P. TO INVADE THE SOLID SOUTH FOR VOTES

The Montgomery Chairman Hays of Republican Committee Plans Strenuous Campaign in 1920

(Associated Press.)

KNOXVILLE, TENN., Dec. 14—A special to the Journal and Tribune tonight from its Washington correspondent says that national chairman Hays has decided to wage an aggressive campaign in the south in 1920 with the hope of breaking the solid south. Organizations in Tennessee, the Carolinas, Georgia and Louisiana are to be fostered with Knoxville as headquarters for this movement. Substantial business men such as ex-Senator Newell Sanders who probably will be chosen for Tennessee, will head the movement in the several states mentioned. The protection tariff issue probably will be the slogan of the campaign. Democratic leaders are said to be watching the movement with interest.

Major Robert R. Jackson was nominated Tuesday as Republican candidate for alderman of the Second ward, and his nomination ended one of the most bitter fights that has ever been waged in the Second ward, and one that has attracted the attention of the entire population of Chicago. Oscar De Priest, former alderman, running independent, ran nearly three hundred votes behind Jackson, who was backed by the regular Republican machine, the Chicago Defender and by the better class of people. Final count was:

	Total	Women	Men
Jackson	4489	1718	2771
De Priest	4197	1608	2589

Jackson's plurality, 292.

The fight has been so bitter that once the forces of the independent candidate resorted to ungentlemanly tactics. The nomination of Jackson brings out one strong fact, and that is, the people of the Second ward stand for decency and uplift the same as the people in other wards.

BOOZE OF MOUND BAYOU TURNS TRAITOR TO RACE

Attorney Howard Of Mississippi, Only Colored National Committeeman, Defeated In Session At St. Louis This Week, 25 to 23.

ROScoe CONKLIN SIMMONS MAKES ELOQUENT PLEA FOR HIS PEOPLE

The Republican National Committee, which has been in session in St. Louis this week, elected Wm. H. Hays, of Indianapolis, chairman; passed resolutions supporting the war, indorsing woman suffrage, and offered a tribute of gratitude and affection to Col. Roosevelt. The committee went farther: it bowed to the will of the "Lilly Whites" and unseated its only Negro committeeman, the Hon. Perry W. Howard of Mississippi, seating a white man in his place. Caesar and Brutus had it all over again Tuesday at the Planters Hotel, and Brutus again "put it over" on Caesar.

The brilliant Mr. Howard was defeated for membership on the National Committee by only two votes. The contest was the closest in the annals of

the Republican party. The defeat was not half as bad to bear as the traitorous remarks of a Negro, Eugene P. Booze of Mound Bayou, Miss. The entire committee joined in assuring Mr. Booze that he was both knave and fool. Simmons For His People It was an hour no one present will ever forget. After Howard and Mulvihill had presented their cases, and the National Committee, weary and worn, fell to whispered conversation, Roscoe Conkling Simmons walked from the rear of the room and announced that he would close for Howard and his people. He had not spoken a minute before he had the attention of the committee. His defense of Howard was masterful. There stood the tribune of his party and his race. His mastery of figures and facts, together with his golden voice and, in the language of Governor Goodrich of Indiana, who sat under

him, "the plaintive pleading for a devoted people," captivated the great company.

He spoke for less than ten minutes. But that was golden time. When he sat down there was a burst of applause, an unprecedented compliment in the history of the Republican National Committee. But Roscoe Simmons had turned the case of Howard into the cause of his people.

The Traitor Speaks

Col. Simmons was making his way through half a hundred extended hands, when Booze begged the chairman to be allowed to say a word. "Of course," he began, "I ain't no more like Col. Simmons, but I got a right to speak for the Colored folks as much as he. Let me tell you that if you elect Mulvihill and put Howard back in his place, both white folks and Negroes in Mississippi will thank you.

"I am a plain Negro," he went on, "and I know and keep my place. I don't want nothing the white folks don't think I ought to have. The time ain't come for Howard.

Here in disgust and at the solicitation of members of the committee, Jacob Babbler, National Committeeman, from Missouri, moved that the speaker be stopped and that the vote be taken. Chairman Wilcox indulged the Mississippian, who concluded:

"No, sir, the time ain't come for us Negroes to be in such places—". His dying sentence was lost in the noise of whispered surprise.

Vote Closes

Immediately the white leaders surrounded the Colored leaders and assured them that Booze had reflected as much discredit upon the Republican party as upon his race.

An executive session was called. Within ten minutes the sergeant at arms announced the vote: Mulvihill 25, Howard 23.

Howard lost his seat, but the Colored leaders had won a place in the esteem of the committee heretofore not enjoyed. Two years hence Howard will be National Committeeman.

Race Leaders Firm

For the first time in the history of the Republican party Negro leaders stood together. There were but five of them here, but they came on their own resources, made as gallant a fight as men ever put up, and retired defeated but not vanquished.

Robert R. Church, of Memphis, head of the mighty Lincoln League and sleepless political leader of the people; Walter L. Cohen, the hero of Louisiana political history; Henry L. Johnson, who sat as a member from Georgia; Perry W. Howard, ablest debater in the Committee, who made the contest like a veteran; and Roscoe Conkling Simmons, the famous orator and idol of his people—these constituted the band of braves.

They were assisted by Dr. Charles Henry Phillips, of St. Louis, who entered the contest late, but gave service and support to the cause second to none. Dr. Phillips was entrusted with the duty of keeping Babbler ready with facts. He did his duty.

Many Misled

The white leaders who showed their colors were Babbler, of Missouri; Dupont, of Delaware; Mayor Thompson, of Chicago; Estabrook, of New Hampshire; Ralph Williams, of Oregon; Highland, of West Virginia; Tolbert, of South Carolina, and Prescott, of Utah. Collady, of Washington, D. C., held the law on the opposition.

In the opposition no surprise was expressed at the vote of Hert, of Kentucky, who does not like Colored men with stamina, but everybody was surprised that Penrose, Hynicka, of Ohio, and Hemenway, of Indiana, voted against Howard. Stanley, of Kansas, went out of his way to fight Howard, while Calder, of New York, promised in one breath to support him, and two minutes after had voted the other way.

Defeated Outright

On Wednesday H. F. MacGregor, of Texas, leader of the "Lily Whites," made a motion to instruct the National Committee to recognize the Mulvihill State Committee in Mississippi over the Ligon or Howard committee. Lincoln Johnson fought him to a standstill and the committee refused to entertain MacGregor and said that there was no committee in Mississippi and that both Howard and Mulvihill could go back and fight it out. This will give Howard a good chance to beat Mulvihill in the next state convention.

When the Republican National Committee adjourned Wednesday night the Negro was higher in respect of all than ever before and a long-covered, dark-practice of a ne'er-do-well was seen in the open.

Babbler Deserves Thanks

The loyalty and astuteness of the Missouri National Committeeman, Jacob Babbler, deserves the gratitude of the Colored people of his state. They will not forget that he stood with them in a hard time.

WHITES PROTEST NEGRO NOMINEE

Charge Republicans Traded Off Fourth Representative District to Get Votes.

ST. LOUIS, MO., OCTOBER 31, 1918

The discovery yesterday by white voters in the Fourth Representative District in St. Louis that Dr. William M. Riley, a Republican candidate for the Legislature from that district, is a negro, stirred up vigorous protests and resentment against the Republican leaders for the negro's nomination without opposition.

Louis Marcks, secretary of the Chouteau-Lindell Improvement Association, declared that a meeting of the Executive Committee will be held at once to take steps to inform the white voters throughout the district of the negro's candidacy, and to make an active campaign against his election.

"Our organization is nonpolitical, but we are opposed to being represented in the Legislature by a negro," Marcks

said. "I am confident that there are sufficient white Republican voters in the district to prevent the election of the negro candidate."

Marcks said he did not know that Dr. Riley was a negro until last night and that he is positive that few white voters in the district knew it. Dr. Riley is a negro politician and lives at 925 North Jefferson avenue.

If Riley is elected, he would be the first negro ever elected to the Legislature from any St. Louis district. The Fourth District includes wards Two and Three, and parts of wards Four, Eighteen, Nineteen, Twenty, Twenty-one and Twenty-two. The district bounded roughly, includes the territory from the Mississippi River to Saratoga street, between Easton and Natural Bridge avenues.

This district includes the section which have been active in the segregation movement to prevent the encroachment of negroes in white residential communities, and the whites are indignant at the prospect of being represented in the Legislature by a negro. The white vote dominates largely in the district, and the negro vote here is comparatively slight.

Riley was one of three Republican candidates for the Legislature who were nominated at the Republican primary without opposition. Three are elected to the Legislature from that district, and only three candidates file for the nomination. Few white voters new Dr. Riley, and voted for him at the primary without investigation.

The resentment of the white voters toward the Republican leaders is aroused, because they believe the leaders could have prevented the nomination of a negro had they so desired, and that their failure to cause a white candidate to file against Riley indicates that they assented to his nomination and that his candidacy has had the approval of the Republican "machine." Nat Goldstein, candidate for Circuit Clerk, is the Republican City Commit-

teeman in the Nineteenth Ward. "Hank" Weeke, enemy alien, who was kept in office by Mayor Kiel until he resigned recently, was Republican Committeeman in the Eighteenth Ward at the time the "slate" was prepared before the primaries. E. E. Butler, Weeke's son-in-law, now is committee man from that ward. Herman Bader, candidate for Clerk of the Court of Criminal Causes, is Republican Committeeman in the Twenty-first Ward. Elmer Moore, a clerk in Goldstein's office, is Republican Committeeman in the Third Ward.

Goldstein, Weeke and Bader are active cogs in the Republican machine and the activity of Goldstein and his clerks in preparing the "slate" for the Legislature indicates that they deliberately attempted to foist the negro candidate on the unsuspecting white voters of the district as a part of a trade, to placate the negroes in other districts, in the opinion of white voters who now are resenting the nomination.

**MRS. H. GOULD
URGES NEGRO
FOR CONGRESS**

Ex-Wife of Millionaire Addresses Crowded Campaign Mass Meeting for Ransom in Twenty-first

Says Any Colored Man Who Votes Against Him is a Traitor to His Race and to Democracy

Unaccompanied by a white escort, Mrs. Howard Gould addressed a crowded negro campaign meeting last night. The meeting was held in Mother Zion Church, One Hundred and Thirty-sixth street, near Seventh avenue.

Mrs. Gould appealed for votes for a colored candidate for the House of Representatives—Reverdy C. Ransom, who is put forward for Congress by the United Civic League. The election is to take place next Tuesday. With the exception of three reporters, Mrs. Gould was the only white person in the hall. She was stunningly dressed, and did not seem at all embarrassed by her adventure. Her automobile, which waited for her outside the church, created much enthusiasm in the neighborhood.

SEEKS TO WIN VOTES.

Mrs. Gould, who has done much agitation for Woman Suffrage, met Ransom in connection with other activities. She formed a high opinion of his character. When she heard he was a candidate for Congress, she promised to approval of the Republican "machine" do all she could to get votes for him. Ransom was one of the speakers at last night's meeting.

Mrs. Gould, although she referred more than once to her Southern birth and family, gave expression to sentiments of equality between the white and colored races. She said:

"We call people blacks and whites now, but some day we'll call them United States Americans. On March 5 you will have a chance to help President Wilson in his fight for democracy."

"Black men are now fighting side by side with white men in the trenches. They are fighting for the world democracy. And they are fighting for the democracy of a country which at one time boasted a King whose atrocities surpassed any of those committed on black men in history."

DEVOUT CRIES OF "AMEN."

This was understood to refer to the late King Leopold, uncle of the present King of the Belgians. It was received with devout cries of "Amen." In fact, many of Mrs. Gould's periods were greeted with audible approval of a camp-meeting character.

Speaking of the colored soldiers in the National Army, she said they had "white hearts under a black skin." Reverting to the Congressional election, she said:

"Any colored man in this district who votes against Mr. Ransom is a traitor to his race and to democracy. If the white man, the Republican captain, tries to insist on your voting for his man, he is be-guiling you and is not your friend."

"Now that the black women of the North have political power, they must band together for the black

women of the South. You black people must strangle the Solid South."

BACK OF THE PRESIDENT.

New York City can be counted on to stand by the President and the war. That much stands out from the returns of the Congress elections held in four districts yesterday. They are districts that contain all kinds of populations, and they are in three boroughs: two of them in Brooklyn, one in Manhattan, one in the Bronx and a part of Manhattan. There could not be any fairer kind of test vote. No questions of State or city politics came in to confuse the issue; it was whether to elect Congressmen who would stand by the President and the war or not. What was the result?

In every district a Democrat was elected, in spite of the fact that one of the districts, the Twenty-first or Washington Heights district, was counted as Republican. There is no doubt that Mr. DONOVAN was elected by Republican votes in this district. Those Republicans who voted for him did not in the least question the sincerity of his Republican opponent, Mr. BOLLES, who had promised to stand by the Administration; but they were determined, while they were about the job of standing by the President, to do it in the most emphatic way possible.

In the Twenty-second or Bronx district the Socialists outnumbered the Republicans, casting 2,394 votes, as against only 2,183 received by the latter. On the other hand, the Democratic candidate, Mr. GRIFFIN, received 8,331 votes, a plurality of 6,148 over the Socialist and a majority over both the Socialist and Republican candidates of 3,754. It is evident that in this district, as in the Twenty-first, many Republicans voted for the Democratic candidate, not because they questioned Mr. FURLONG's sincerity in offering to stand by the President, but for the purpose of making their support of the Administration tell in the most thorough and resounding way.

In the Eighth District, which includes Coney Island, Bay Ridge, and Canarsie, the Republicans believed they had a chance; it had been mapped by the Legislature so as to give them one. But in that district the Democratic candidate had 12,538 votes, as against 7,794 for the Republican and 1,879 for the Socialist. Again it is evident that Republicans voted for the Democratic candidate.

The idea that women would vote as women and not as Republicans, Dem-

ocrats, and Socialists receives no encouragement from this election. In the Twenty-first District there was a woman candidate, Mrs. COLVIN. She was running on the Prohibition ticket, and the women voters of that district were urgently appealed to for support. They received more campaign literature in behalf of Mrs. COLVIN than in behalf of any other candidate, and it was expected that she would get a considerable vote. There was also a negro candidate, REVERDY C. RANSOM, who was denied a place on the ballot because his petition was defective. Any negro who wished to vote for RANSOM had to write his name in, which is always a deadly blow to any candidacy. Yet RANSOM, who was not on the ballot, received 465 votes, and Mrs. COLVIN, who was on the ballot and in whose behalf special effort had been made to reach the women received only 382. This result is highly complimentary to the intelligence and good citizenship of the women voters in that district.

In a by-election like this it is of no use to expect a large vote. About one-third of the men entitled to vote voted; about one-third of the women entitled to vote voted. Honors are easy between the sexes. The women seem to have divided on the same lines as the men, and for the same reasons.

The outlook for the Republicans in next Fall's election is not particularly happy. This election is a straw, and what it shows is that the wind is blowing strongly in the direction of a thoroughgoing, out-and-out support of the President that will inure to the advantage of the Democratic candidates; not in the least that there is any complaint of the loyalty of Republicans. But that it is the surest way to make support of the President count. As one woman voter, ordinarily Republican, put it yesterday, "I know that Mr. BOLLES will support the President when the roll call is taken on a bill, but Mr. DONOVAN will support him as soon as the bill is introduced"; and against that spirit campaign oratory will spend itself in vain.

Meanwhile the City of New York sends its compliments to Wisconsin, whose Senatorial election comes on April 2. We have stood up and been counted, and may the result hearten the loyal men who are making the fight out there.

GEORGE W. ELLIS IS COUNTED OUT AT ELEVENTH HOUR

Chicago
Republican Ticket Receives

Severe Jolt When Final Returns Are Given.

By A. N. Ellis
The final count in the primary vote for the nominations of September 11th has been completed with the result that the Hon. George W. Ellis, who was nominated on the Thompson ticket, being counted out.

This, of course, is what was expected, especially by those who have some knowledge of the interest representing the other side. The Chicago Tribune was heard to complain the morning after the primary that "George W. Ellis, the Negro candidate, was the tenth man on the ticket, but his holding of the place was doubtful." This statement would have appeared to the innocent observer to be only a news article, but to those who know it carried with it certain advice and instruction and paved the way for what was to follow on the 24th of September. It is alleged that the vote "jugglery" in the recount was so perfect that the "jugglers" were able to keep their victim in the air for ten days without his losing hope that he would finally land on solid ground.

Ellis Juggled Out

Well, in this "honest" recount, Mr. Ellis was juggled out and two other gentlemen lower down than himself in the point of votes were juggled in. So much for the jugglery. This, of course, is the front line trench—the election is yet to come. "Be that remembered."

If it be true as alleged that the Brundage forces were responsible for Ellis being deprived of the nomination, they surely cannot be considered as safe custodians of public trust and confidence and their right to additional power and influence, coming as a result of the people's suffrage, admits of a serious consideration and in fact should cause the voters to view with some degree of suspicion a further extension of power. The Brundage people would not put a man on the ticket for municipal court judge. They side-stepped the issue with ease and grace, which, of course, was expected, because they represented an element who did not believe in that kind of democracy.

So it is, Mr. Ellis has been "gassed" by the same forces who last Friday in Springfield in their state convention sounded the keynote, "Let us forget past differences and get together,

Political-1918

Office Holding SAMUEL A. ETTELSON

By A. N. Fields

The announcement of Hon. Samuel A. Ettelson that he would be a candidate for re-election to the state senate from the third senatorial district has served to clarify the political situation with reference to senatorial honors. A number of aspirants had launched their boom, and were only awaiting for final instructions from their many friends to add to it the finishing touch. Numbered among these were the Hon. Willis Jefferson, who has for a number of years been a bright light in the political firmament. His long service and political activity evidenced at all times with loyalty to Republican principles gave his friends reasons to believe that his right for political preferment at this time should have respectful hearing in the council of the state makers. The other, Dr. A. J. Carey, whose many friends were expecting a wholesome activity looking forward to his entry as a formidable candidate for senatorial honors, in view of Senator Ettelson's announcement, has also abated the desire of his many political admirers out of deference to the fact that Senator Ettelson has served in the senate for a number of years, and his patriotism, loyalty and devotion, as well as his impartial methods in dealing with his fellowman, has given him a place of respect and confidence in the estimation of his constituents.

Dr. Carey Makes Statement

In an interview with a Defender representative, Dr. Carey was informed that Senator Ettelson had announced his candidacy for re-election, and was asked what his position would be in the premises. Dr. Carey made the following statement: "I have not as yet reached a decision by reason of having spent the greater part of the week at Wilberforce, Ohio, on business affecting the interest of Wilberforce university. I have not had an opportunity to give serious thought to the matter. True, I have been importuned by hundreds of people, white as well as my own, to represent white leaders, who think I can be of use in the senate. My desire, however, has been to be in the position where I can be of the greatest service to my Race, but I sometimes fear the holding of any political position might be construed into a desire to push my own personal interest, and by reason of that I am almost persuaded that the greatest service can be rendered by me can be done by devoting all of my energies to the interest of the church and the Christian ministry. And I refuse to enter into any personal political contest for office, if such entrance means to impair the fundamental services I hope to render to my Race and my church.

"I find in the ministry of the A. M. E. church such a splendid field for usefulness, both for God and the Race, that I find it very difficult to enter into any other activity that might interfere with the success of the work of the church."

It can be clearly seen from the interview that Dr. Carey will make no move that might in turn embarrass those whose confidence he respects and whose help he had hoped to gain. This statement may be accepted as an authoritative fact that his future hopes are built upon the desire to achieve the

highest pinnacle in his church.

The re-election of Senator Ettelson with these gentlemen out of the race is a positive assurance. His activities in dealing with public questions having to do with our interest has been decisively demonstrated on numerous occasions. Especially was his sincerity evinced when we sought by exhibition of our achievements to demonstrate to the world by our half-century celebration of freedom that we had contributed our full share to the world's civilization.

MRS. GOULD SPEAKS TO NEGRO VOTERS

Dominates Big Audience of
Men and Women at Ransom Meeting.

CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 27, 1918

Mrs. Howard Gould made her New York debut as a political speaker last night before an audience of negroes that tested the capacity of Mother Zion Church in 136th street near Seventh avenue. The church held 2,000 men and women at a meeting called to advance the candidacy of the Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom, negro candidate for Congress, who is backed by the United Civic League, an independent organization that was formed when the Republicans in the Twenty-first Congressional district refused to accept Rev. Ransom as their nominee.

Mrs. Gould, who as Kathrine Clemmons, the actress, had much experience with large audiences, showed no lack of self-possession. She said she was the kind of a suffragist who did not limit her interest to white women. She vigorously denounced white politicians who would attempt to lure the negro voter from the Ransom standard at the special election on March 5; praised President Wilson; denounced "Tammaniacs" and put Col. Roosevelt right on his misinterpretation of a sentence credited to Baron Ishii when the Japanese diplomat was last in this country.

According to Mrs. Gould, Col. Roosevelt misunderstood Baron Ishii because he lacks an Orientalized point of view. When the Baron said "Look for the enemy within your gates" the Colonel began to look for Germans. Mrs. Gould said, whereas the Baron's advice was purely figurative and meant simply that people should look within their own hearts and tear out the evil that is in them.

Never in her career as an actress did Mrs. Gould win more complete success with an audience. Applause punctuated her speech throughout. When she said "Let us kill the solid South; break it up and destroy it altogether," the outburst of cheers and cries had something of the intensity of the answer to an emotional religious appeal at a camp meeting.

At the end Mrs. Gould appeared to be running the meeting. She called for a collection "to keep the polls straight," and saw to it that the plate bearers

missed nobody. She put a check for \$100 on the plate herself.

Mrs. Gould said after the meeting that she became a suffragist as a protest against the treatment to which the White House pickets were subjected. Her interest in Ransom's candidacy, she said, was purely that of a worker for democracy. She has joined the National party, which will organize in Chicago March 6, and will be active at its meeting.

A SURE WINNER

The supporters of John B. French, candidate for county commissioner on the William Hale Thompson ticket, are exercising every possible influence to enhance his success at the polls in the primaries November 11. The nomination of Mr. French and his sub-



Hon. John B. French

sequent election will mean much to our fellows from a political point of view. His standing in the business world among the people who control the commercial interest of this great city will make him an influential figure in the political world. He comes of a family who are pioneers in the civic life of this state and whose reputation carries with it the ring of an honest coin.

RACE MEN NOMINATED IN WEST VIRGINIA.

CHARLESTON, W. Va., Aug. 10.

In the state-wide primary, held Tuesday, three Colored men were nominated on the Republican ticket in as many counties for member of the House of Delegates, the lower branch of the legislature. The nominees were: J. V. Coleman, Kimberly, Fayette county; Harry J. Capehart, Keystone, McDowell county; and T. G. Nutter, Charleston, Kanawha county.

Legislative candidates, in fact, members of that branch of the state government, are not novelties in West

Virginia, few terms having passed in the last twenty years without race representation. But at no time before have there been so many candidates, nor has Kanawha county before given a Colored man a nomination, though there were two previous attempts.

The honor of breaking through the barriers came to T. G. Nutter, an attorney at law, former grand exalted ruler of the Elks, now grand chancellor of the Knights of Pythias and secretary-treasurer of the bank recently organized here by Colored citizens. Of the six nominated from among fourteen candidates, Nutter was third.

Mr. Capehart is also an attorney and, coming as he does from a rock-ribbed Republican county, is most certain of election. The other nominee, Mr. Coleman, is a laboring man, having worked in various capacities around coal mines all his life. He was second of the four winners among six candidates.

The Colored population in none of these counties is one-sixth of the whole, that of Kanawha being only about one-tenth.

Hon. Ed Green Launches Fight for Legislative Honors

Experience in legislative work is a valuable asset to any member in a crisis such as will necessarily confront the forthcoming general assembly at Springfield, Ill. Mr. Green's previous training and his astute knowledge of governmental affairs amply qualify him to grapple with essential legislation caused by reason of the new world condition. His former experience stands him well in hand and is an assurance to his constituents that their interests will be well guarded.

The First senatorial district is probably the most complex, politically and otherwise, of any in the city. No candidate now running and asking for the suffrage of that district so well measures up to the requirements of the wishes of the constituents as does Representative Green. His steady and unceasing fights against unjust legislation during his useful term as a member of the legislative body offers a strong argument in defense of his candidacy. The people's battles have been his battles. He always stood ready and anxious to throw himself into the midst of debate when the honor and integrity of his Race had been violated by scheming politicians who sought to gain a hearing by appealing to race prejudice. The voters of the First district have lined their forces in the attempt to send Mr. Green back to the legislature. His past record warrants the undivided attention and



Ed Green

consideration of all persons who exercise the right of suffrage.

For Michigan Legislature

Detroit, Mich., July 27.—Attorney Charles A. Roxborough during the past week filed with the county clerk of Wayne county his petitions as a candidate for the legislature. Mr. Roxborough is well qualified to become a contender for the said office, having served in the governor's office during Gov. Chase S. Osborn's regime, and after leaving the governor's office was for two years state deputy oil inspector with headquarters in Detroit. He



Attorney Roxborough

is one of the most efficient and ablest lawyers of the younger school. Attorney Roxborough graduated from the Detroit College of Law and has been practicing law for the past five years. In his high school days he was a star athlete at the Eastern High school. On leaving the state capitol Gov. Osborn said of him: "I have pleasure in unqualifiedly recommending him to anyone whose consideration he may seek, and I wish to add that this is not a perfunctory act, but one of justice in proportion to my estimate of Mr. Roxborough."

DEMOCRATS OPEN ROOMS FOR COLORED VOTERS

Democratic headquarters for colored men have been opened at Lincoln avenue and Canal street, and the attractive rooms are being patronized extensively by the voters of the seventh ward. The rooms are open to all comers and interesting literature, outlining the principles enunciated by the leaders of the party, has been made available to the voters. The place offers an opportunity to men who desire knowledge of the party and its aims, and a general invitation to voters, irrespective of their party affiliations, has been extended by those in charge of the headquarters. The rooms are commodious and cheery and will find a welcome in the neighborhood.

WEST VIRGINIA TO HAVE 3 COLORED ASSEMBLYMEN

The New York
Coleman, Copehart and Nutter Elected Last Week to Represent Their Communities in Great State's Legislature

Charleston, W. Va., Nov. 9.—Resulting from Tuesday's election three Colored men will have seats in the lower house when West Virginia's legislature convenes next January, rivaling the record of any State since the days of Reconstruction.

The successful candidates, nominated in primaries and elected on the Republican ticket, are: J. V. Coleman, of Fayette County, formerly postmaster at Kimberly, now engaged in the production of coal; H. J. Capehart, of McDowell County, an attorney at law, and T. G. Nutter, former Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks, at present Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias. Mr. Nutter is also an attorney.

Both Fayette and McDowell counties have had Colored legislators before, the former three and the latter one, but at no time has there been more than one Colored representative in the Legislature.

The nomination and election of these men is considered remarkable for the fact that in none of the counties which they represent is there a majority of Colored voters, the percentage in McDowell being 34, Fayette 22 and Kanawha 10.

Colored Republicans

of the State Organize
ROCHESTER N. Y. TIMES

Colored Republicans perfected a state organization at a meeting held in Zion A. M. E. Church yesterday morning under the title of the Colored Republican Council of New York State. These officers were chosen: President, Edward A. Johnson, New York; first vice-president, John W. Thompson, Rochester; second vice-president, William H. Talbert, Buffalo; third vice-president, Joseph N. Hawkins, Albany; secretary, George W. Derham, Rochester; corresponding secretary, Miss Katherine Byrd; organizer, Mrs. Susan Morse, of Buffalo.

John W. Thompson, of Rochester, was named as chairman of the Executive Committee and given authority to appoint as members of the committee a representative of each congressional district. This committee when named will endorse a candidate for governor.

Atty. S. A. T. Watkins
Appointed Assistant
U. S. District Attorney

The Hon. Charles F. Clyde, United States district attorney, at the urgent request of the Hon. James Hamilton Lewis, senator from Illinois, has appointed S. A. T. Watkins, assistant United States district attorney.



Atty. S. A. T. Watkins

Mr. Watkins has served as assistant prosecuting attorney and assistant corporation counsel of Chicago.

As counsel he represented the city of Chicago before the Supreme Court of the United States.

He is supreme attorney for the Knights of Pythias, had charge of the recent Pythian litigation, and removed a case from the Supreme court of Georgia to the Supreme Court of the United States, which was decided favorably where the interests of our people were involved. He has appeared before this court several times. Mr. Watkins has practiced law in Chicago for more than twenty-five years, and his service in public office was always creditable. He is serving his second term as president of the Appomattox club.

Would Reinstate Colored Officers of Hose Company

OMAHA NEB HERALD
MAY 14, 1918
Petitions that colored officers be reinstated at Hose Company No. 11 and that the city department of weights and measures be retained by a colored man were passed at the meeting of the Douglas Republican league in the grill room of St. Phillip's church last evening. M. F. Singleton presided. Dr. Craig Morris is secretary.

The colored captain and lieutenant of Hose Company No. 11 were demoted about three years ago following some difficulty, and their places filled by Caucasians, although the personnel of the company otherwise has remained wholly colored. The league seeks either the reinstatement of the deposed officers or their replacement by colored men.

The city weights and measures inspection has been in the hands of a colored inspector for many years. The present incumbent, Amos P. Scruggs, succeeded the late John Grant Pegg on the latter's death. The move of the league is said to be an effort to insure the continuance of this plan under the new regime at the city hall.

Other measures for the betterment of the colored race in general were discussed at the meeting.

Negroes Win Three Seats in Illinois Legislature

The Dallas Express
Chicago, Ill., Nov. 9.—Hon. Adelbert H. Roberts, Warren G. Douglass and Editor S. B. Turner have been elected members of the Chicago district as members of the Illinois Legislature.

Mr. Roberts is a widely known actor and clerk in the Municipal Court; Warren Douglass is a lawyer of splendid literary attainments and S. B. Turner is editor of the Illinois Idea this being his second time to be elected to the Illinois Legislature. They are at law, former Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks, now Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias and secretary-treasurer of the bank recently organized here by Colored citizens. Of the six nominated from among fourteen candidates Nutter was third. Mr. Capehart is also an attorney and, coming as he does from a rock-ribbed Republican county, is most certain of election. The other nominee, Mr. Coleman, is a laboring man, having worked in various capacities around coal mines all his life. He was second of the four winners among six candidates.

May Go to Liberia

as U. S. Minister
COLUMBUS O JOURNAL
APRIL 14, 1918
DR. J. L. JOHNSON.



Colored physician of 652 East Long Street, who, Washington dispatches say, is slated for appointment as minister to Liberia at \$5000 salary. His name, it is expected, will be sent to the senate next week.

THREE NEGROES FOR LEGISLATURE

NOMINATED ON THE REPUBLICAN TICKET IN THREE COUNTIES.

CHARLESTON, W. Va., Aug. 10.—In the statewide primary, held last Tuesday, three Colored men were nominated on the Republican ticket in as many counties for members of the House of Delegates, the lower branch of the legislature. The nominees were: J. V. Coleman, Kimberly, Fayette county; Harry J. Capehart, Keystone, McDowell county, and T. G. Nutter, Charleston, Kanawha county.

Legislative candidates, in fact, members of that branch of the state government, are not novelties in West Virginia, few terms having passed in the last twenty years without race representation. But at no time before have there been so many candidates, nor has Kanawha county before given a Colored man a nomination, though there were two previous attempts. The honor of breaking through the barriers came to T. G. Nutter, an attorney at law, former Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks, now Grand Chancellor of the Knights of Pythias and secretary-treasurer of the bank recently organized here by Colored citizens. Of the six nominated from among fourteen candidates Nutter was third. Mr. Capehart is also an attorney and, coming as he does from a rock-ribbed Republican county, is most certain of election. The other nominee, Mr. Coleman, is a laboring man, having worked in various capacities around coal mines all his life. He was second of the four winners among six candidates.

The Colored population in none of these counties is one-sixth of the whole, that of Kanawha being only about one-tenth.
TRENTON N. J. TIMES
MAY 2, 1918

INSIDE AND OUT.

Dr. Roundtree, the colored Republican leader and ecclesiarch, will no doubt find in the report just made to the Governor by the Negro Welfare and Employment Bureau, an explanation of the personal and somewhat vicious attack recently made upon him by T. Thomas Fortune, who defended the "migrant" bill signed by Governor Edge, after the Legislature had passed it upon the Governor's recommendation in his annual message.

It appears from the report to which reference has been made, that Mr. Fortune is "on the pay-roll" of the "migrant" bureau for \$720 a year; that Dr. P. L. Hawkins is drawing \$1,200 and Julia H. Dorsey, \$480. Mr. Fortune is "in," and Dr. Roundtree will appreciate the sentiment expressed in the song, "I'd rather be on the inside looking out, than on the outside looking in." Director Nutter's salary is not shown in the statement.

THE NEGRO CONGRESSIONAL CONTEST IN THE Twenty-First District.

There are more negroes in the Twenty-first Congressional District than there are anywhere else in the world within a like area.

There are more negro voters in the Twenty-first Congressional District than in any other district north of

Mason and Dixon's line. There is here as much patriotism and loyalty to the square inch as can be found in any place or among any people in the United States.

The candidacy of Reverdy C. Ransom in the Twenty-first Congressional District is not primarily based upon considerations of color or of race. Appeals to sectional feeling, to race and color prejudice, have been in the past the rocks which have menaced the safety of our ship of state, just as stressing hyphenated citizenship is the chief present internal menace to the patriotic unity of all elements of our population against the aggressions of our united foe. The racial element, if it appears, is not of our making and only enters from this angle.

Both by tradition and sentiment the vast majority of our negro population is Republican in politics. But there has come to the negroes of New York and of the Nation a new birth of civic consciousness. Our fellow-citizens should be neither so blind nor so ungenerous as not to recognize this fact.

The world is to-day weltering in blood and writhing in the agony of hunger and sorrow, suffering and pain, in an effort to throw off the yoke of oppression and achieve political, economic and social freedom of all peoples to cooperate by actively participating in the control of their own government.

We are conserving coal, having meatless and wheatless days, drafting, drilling and sending, or preparing to send, hundreds of thousands of the flower of our youth across the seas to fight. To fight for what? President Wilson has told us in most admirable and convincing phrases that we are to make the world safe for democracy by delivering the peoples from the autocratic power of any group of men, whether they be militaristic, imperialistic, Bolshevik, Socialists of the extreme type, financial and commercial combinations of wealth or political oligarchs.

At a time when we are giving our sons to go forth to uphold our flag both on land and sea, it is a very small thing for us to ask that at least one representative from these loyal but dumb millions of our citizens be given an articulate voice in the halls of Congress, to assist in upholding the preparations our Government is making for war and to have a small part in shaping our national policies in this crucial hour. Our citizens, black and white alike, can best prove the sincerity of the professions which our Nation is making at this time by fighting for a colored Congressman on March 5, and thus upholding in our own land the ideals and principles for which our soldiers and sailors are going forth to suffer, and if need be die, upon a foreign soil.

JNO M. ROYALL, President.
UNITED CIVIC LEAGUE, INC.

Bob Taylor
R. L. Taylor, Des Plaines, Ill., who has held the position of information clerk in the brand of cotton commission's office for the last twenty-three years, is away from his post of duty on his vacation which will be spent in the woods of Illinois hunting.

Political - 1918

Office Holding

JERSEY CITY N J JOURNAL

MAY 13, 1918

AN EDGE DRIVE THAT FAILED.

If anything was needed to emphasize the complete collapse of the Edge candidacy among the colored voters of New Jersey, the episode at the African Methodist Episcopal Conference of New Jersey in Orange last week will make the proof quite complete.

Here was a gathering of colored men from all parts of the State and a gathering, too, of men who two years ago had voted to give Edge the Republican Gubernatorial nomination.

Thursday night, when Governor Edge appeared in the vicinity of the conference, expecting an invitation to address the gathering, his man, Isaac Nutter of Atlantic City, who was expected to deliver the conference, was shocked to hear a motion to invite Edge to appear before the gathering voted down by a big majority, scarcely anybody voting for the motion.

Outside, in his limousine, the Governor heard the news of what had just happened inside, and in his limousine the Governor, with his man Nutter, quickly departed for a more congenial zone. What comments Mr. Edge made to Nutter regarding the collapse of the scheme to capture the A. M. E. Conference is not a matter of record but the dialogue surely would have made a rich record for a talking machine.

How times have changed for Governor Edge! How cold these springtime evenings are!

JUDGE TERRELL RENAMED JUSTICE

Is The Only Republican Justice in the District of Columbia—Serving Fifth Term.

April 26, 1918.

Washington, April 25.—Judge Robert H. Terrell is receiving congratulations for just having been confirmed by the Senate as a justice of the Municipal Court for the fifth successive time. Save the late James L. Curtis, United States Minister to Liberia, he is the only colored man named for a presidential appointment who has been confirmed during President Wilson's administration. In the beginning of the Wilson administration Adam E. Patterson, of Oklahoma, was named for the position of Registrar of the Treasurer, but Southern Democrats raised such a big howl then an Indian was given the appointment.

Judge Terrell was first named by President Roosevelt in 1902. Four years later Colonel Roosevelt reappointed him and President Taft also renamed him. When his third term expired it looked doubtful if a Democratic administration would continue him. Lawyers of the District bar, re-

gardless of politics, urged that he be continued in office, and the Attorney General fell in line with them. After his name was sent to the Senate it looked for a time as if his nomination would not be confirmed. The late Bishop Alexander Walters and other influential men urged his claims and he was finally confirmed. The Judge is the senior in service on the municipal bench and his fair and able handling of litigation coming before him has made him very popular with lawyers and litigants.

Judge Terrell is a native of Virginia. He was graduated from Harvard University in 1884 and later from the law department of Howard University. During Harrison's administration he held an important position. He was principal of the old M Street High School when first appointed judge. The Judge is a lecturer in the law school of Howard University and popular as a speaker. He is the husband of Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, the noted lecturer. His father was the late Harrison Terrell, a trusted employee of the late President Grant.

California Nominates

Roberts for Legislature

Will Be First to Sit in California Law-Making Body.

Los Angeles, Cal., Oct. 25.—Frederick M. Roberts has been nominated for state representative by the Republicans of California at their late primaries. He won by a good margin, defeating four others, all white, getting a good vote even in the white precincts.

Mr. Roberts has been indorsed by the state and county conventions, which have pledged themselves to campaign aggressively for his election. Two of the big dailies have declared themselves for him; a third has spoken kindly of his candidacy and the papers are all for him. His election Nov. 5 would make him the first of the Race ever to sit in the California legislature and would be of immeasurable benefit to the group in the state and upon the coast, as well as in Los Angeles county, where the Race numbers 40,000, with perhaps 60,000 in the state. Roberts' presence in the next legislature would be most opportune, because California is planning some immense reconstruction and reclamation projects for the returned soldiers and it is desired that Race soldiers largely share.

Mr. Roberts is a product of the public and high schools of Los Angeles, Cal., College; is editor of the New Age and for three years was principal of Mound Institute, Mound Bayou, Miss. He is being splendidly supported by the ministers, business and professional men of the Race.

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Aldermen Anderson and Jackson Are on Guard

Aside from the fact that the competition for the taxi trade at Thirty-fifth and State streets came near precipitating a race riot, the congestion and gathering of such large crowds at the two ball parks at Thirty-ninth and Wentworth avenue and Thirty-fifth and State streets have been attended with other dangers to the safety and lives of the people patronizing the baseball sports.

Through the large crowds which were emitted from the transportation lines at Thirty-fifth and State streets the taxis rushed with their loads in reckless speed to and from the White Sox park in endeavors to secure as many loads as possible. The taxi drivers were so eager to ply their trade and so bent upon making many trips that little or no consideration was given to the vast throngs through which these taxis so rapidly and recklessly sped. So that when there was a game to be held at the White Sox park it was positively dangerous for a person to be passing along Thirty-fifth and State streets on foot. The wonder is that as these machines darted with such rapidity to and from the White Sox park that so few persons were injured. The same situation obtained at Thirty-ninth street and Wentworth avenue on Sundays when games were scheduled at the American Giants' park.

While Aldermen Anderson and Jackson were considering the general conditions at Thirty-fifth and State streets their penetrating eyes and searching vision took in the whole situation and observed all the facts and circumstances which menace and tend to the injury of our Race in the Second ward. Seeing the danger of these taxis speeding through vast crowds in wild haste for traffic and business, the Second ward aldermen again acted for the people's welfare in this regard.

As a result they had a crossing post established at Thirty-ninth street and Wentworth avenue and another at Thirty-fifth and State streets, which may be truly called safety posts, and each one of these posts were placed in charge of a Race officer.

A substantial business man said to a Defender reporter that he was amazed at the ability of Aldermen Anderson and Jackson to secure results. "The many things which these two aldermen are doing every day," he continued, "for the members of the Race and ward in every walk of life, is final proof that the Race is able to make good whenever it has a fair opportunity and the power. In these two aldermen the Race has a leadership which achieves things and their record so far is such that of them any race might well be proud."

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CHICAGO NOW HAS 2 NEGRO ALDERMEN

DePriest Adherents Are Now

Grooming Candidate For

Congress to Oppose

Madden.

April 26, 1918

Chicago, April 25.—Chicago is the only city in the country that boasts of having two colored members of its

Board of Aldermen. The men are Louis B. Anderson and Maj. Robert R. Jackson, both representing the old Second ward.

Ten years ago colored Republican leaders were insisting that some colored man be nominated for Board of Alderman. White Republican leaders opposed them, former County Commissioner Oscar DePriest, the first colored alderman elected, is said to have then agreed with the whites. Colored voters defeated a white Republican candidate when the bosses refused to name some colored man. Oscar DePriest was nominated and elected when the next election came off. He is said to have been one in a compact made between white and colored Republicans that the Second ward should have one white and one colored alderman.

Things were getting along swimmingly until DePriest was indicted for alleged connection with graft and the running of gambling houses. He announced two years ago, following his indictment, that he would not seek reelection. Assistant Corporation Attorney Louis B. Anderson was nominated and elected. DePriest was tried and acquitted on what many consider one of the weakest counts in the indictment. He will be tried in a week or two on other counts.

At the recent aldermanic election he ran as an independent Republican candidate against Major Jackson, who is a former member of the State Legislature. The fur flew thick and fast between the rival candidates, but Jackson won out with a substantial majority in a three-cornered contest, one of the losers being a Democrat. DePriest received a flattering vote, the vote in the "black belt" having been largely increased by people moving from the South within the past three years. He appealed to the newcomers on a sort of vindication platform.

Congressman Madden, who has defended the Negro in season and out, came on to urge the Jackson candidacy. The story is now going the rounds that DePriest and some of his followers are now boosting Edward H. Morris, national grand master of the Odd Fellows, for the Republican nomination for Congress in place of Congressman Madden. This does not please some of the colored leaders who were with DePriest before his indictment, however. They claim that it would be bad politics to turn down a real friend of the race because he is white and send a man to Congress just because he is colored. Morris is an able lawyer and has served as a member of the State Legislature. The indications are that should Morris decide to run against Madden that the DePriest followers will be able to line up a goodly number of the recent additions to the electorate, the newcomers not being very well informed as to actual political conditions here.

GILES JACKSON LANDS POSITION IN DEPT. OF LABOR

Washington, D. C., July 19.—Giles B. Jackson, Richmond, Va., has been appointed to the position of chief of the Division of employment bureau in the Department of Labor. Jackson fought an endless battle for a position in the labor department, but the appointment of Dr. G. E. Haynes to a superior position in his bureau forced Jackson to accept of a minor nature.



Fred Roberts

John B. French Urged by His Many Friends to Run for County Commissioner

Mr. French is a member of one of the oldest Colored families in the city, coming here from Kentucky in 1886 with his parents, receiving the great-



er part of his education in Hayes school on the west side. A brief summary of his life from that time on is as follows: Was office boy for A. H. Andrews & Co. until the store and factory were destroyed by the great fire of 1871. He was next employed by W. H. Schumpferman, an importer and grocer, rising successfully in fourteen years from errand boy to head of the department. Being of an ambitious turn and with unquenchable desire for higher attainments, he, with the late John Shaw, purchased the great Eckhart catering plant, which he finally owned by buying out his partner, and for twenty-five years he conducted the business successfully, serving banquets, weddings and social affairs for many millionaires of the city and state, and in the course of his career has furnished employment to a great many members of his Race, both men and women. So great was his fame for business ability the State except Albany. Lewis lost his home county of Monroe by over two to one and also was defeated in his native village by Whitman.

Mr. French conducts a large business in the 25th ward, employing Race men and women throughout. He has a wife and two children. His daughter is married to Dr. C. H. Phillips of St. Louis and his son is a dentist in St. Paul. He has a beautiful home at 4650 Winthrop avenue, Chicago.

Mr. French all through his forty years' residence in Chicago has maintained a spotless reputation for honest industry and social uplift among his people. He was formerly an officer in the Old Folks' Home and a generous contributor to the many charities of the city. He has always stood for clean living, clean homes and clear politics, and it is conceded by his many friends throughout the city that he is the one man whom all factions can unite on.

Mr. French will also have the indorsement and solid support of the Fred Douglas Protective league.

WHITMAN WINS NOMINATION

Chosen Republican Nominee for Governor at Tuesday's Primaries Easily Defeat- ing Lewis.

RACE MEN ARE VICTORIOUS

E. A. Johnson and John Clifford Hawkins are Nominated for Legislature from Harlem Districts--Bolles Defeats Ransom and Humphries for in Contest for Congress.

Charles S. Whitman, Republican, and Alfred E. Smith, Democrat, will be the principal candidates at the polls for the Governor. At the party primaries held Tuesday both had walkovers.

Whitman's majority over Lewis is estimated at nearly 170,000. Women voted throughout the Empire State for the first time, and Governor Whitman was their favorite.

Whitman carried every county in the State except Albany. Lewis lost his home county of Monroe by over two to one and also was defeated in his native village by Whitman.

All the Republican organization candidates triumphed over their adversaries as did Charles S. Whitman.

John A. Bolles won the Republican nomination for Congress in the Twenty-first Congressional District, defeating the Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom and Andrew B. Humphries.

John Clifford Hawkins secured the Republican nomination for the Assembly from the Twenty-first Assembly District, defeating his white opponent by a substantial majority.

E. A. Johnson, the first colored man to be sent to the New York Legislature, was renominated without opposition from the Nineteenth Assembly District.

"BOB" CHURCH IS AT IT WITH LILY WHITES

He Is Seated at the State Convention With Full Powers Despite Protests

Jerome F. Donovan, Democrat, defeated John A. Bolles, Republican, for Congress, to succeed Murray Hulbert, by a plurality of 2,102, in Tuesday's special election held in the Twenty-first District. The Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom, Independent Republican, polled 465 votes.

In the Twenty-first District only 26,240 votes were polled out of a total registration of 56,398.

The Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom speaking of the result of the election said:

Jan. 26, 1918
(Special to the Defender)

Nashville, Tenn., Jan. 25.—Again Robert R. Church Jr., political leader of Tennessee, has wiped up with the lily white gang, in whose wake has come all the woe the Republican party in this state has ever suffered.

At the meeting of the Republican state committee held here Monday, Mr. Church sat as a full member, holding two or three proxies given him by several members of the committee. One little fice by the name of Farleigh, whom Mr. Church and Waymar flicked to a "fare-you-well" in last year's election, came up from Memphis with Harry True's proxy. He said that he did not care for a seat on the committee if Mr. Church had a seat there.

The reply he got from the leaders will last him until the day of his death. Littleton, mayor of Chattanooga; Gore, national committeeman; J. Will Taylor, state chairman, and Secretary McClean, all joined in informing Farleigh, who is suffering a severe case of officitis, that his absence was courted more than his company, and that not only could he go, but they did not care if he never came back. In fact, they told him in so many words that they wished he's never come back.

The leaders agreed that Mr. Church had the only organization in the state, and that henceforward he was to be considered as the leader of Shelby county and the Tenth district, where he controls more votes than all the lilies combined.

Mr. Church returned home by way of Tuskegee. He said that he was going back to grease up the wheels of the famous Lincoln League, whose 5,000 members follow him as one man. It has been a long fight, but the recognition won by Mr. Church shows what can be done if you keep at it long enough.

Mr. Church will join the leaders of the Race who will march on the Republican national committee at St. Louis on Feb. 12, and ask them what about the seat to which Perry W. Howard has been elected, and which the lily whites in Mississippi are asking the national committee to rob him of.

DEMOCRAT IS ELECTED TO CONGRESS IN HARLEM

Jerome F. Donovan, Democrat, defeated John A. Bolles, Republican, for Congress, to succeed Murray Hulbert, by a plurality of 2,102, in Tuesday's special election held in the Twenty-first District. The Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom, Independent Republican, polled 465 votes.

In the Twenty-first District only 26,240 votes were polled out of a total registration of 56,398.

The Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom speaking of the result of the election said:

"If the ballots thrown out as void

are added to those actually counted for me it will be shown that I carried the majority of the election districts in that part of the Congressional district where I am best known.

"Backed by the United Civic League I persisted in my candidacy after many rebuffs in the hope of breaking the strangle hold of the Republican organization upon its black constituency and to serve an emphatic notice that the day of the civic and political exploitation of the black people of Harlem is ended.

"It is false and absolutely without foundation that my campaign was financed by the Democratic organization or from any source in the interest of that party."

Dr. Ransom received the following telegram from Mrs. Howard Gould: "Glad you are going to stand up for the right of your race. All lovers of good government will rally to your support."

Perry Howard Says a Word or Two

The Chicago Defender
March 24, 1918
To the Editor of the Chicago Defender,
Chicago, Ill.:

With reference to the fight for national committeeman from Mississippi at St. Louis last month, I beg to state that the statements in the Defender and other papers alleged to have been made by E. P. Booze to the national committee are, to the best of my recollections, substantially true and correct.

I do not consider Mr. Booze's abuse of Colonel Simmons as a sufficient cloak behind which to hide. Colonel Simmons played his part as a man. He was at St. Louis upon my urgent request; he closed the case at my request and his closing argument was a masterpiece and it was both entertaining and convincing to a large part of the committee.

It would be all but sacrilegious for me to show ingratitude to such unselfish men as Henry Lincoln Johnson, whose argument, as a member of the national committee, was a forensic cyclone; R. R. Church, who spared neither energy, pains nor means to get our case properly before the committee; Walter Cohen, who journeyed from the far-away city of New Orleans to give us the benefit of his farsightedness and experience in statecraft and the idol of the American platform in the person of Colonel Roscoe Conkling Simmons, who is Mississippi's best beloved racial gift to the American people.

It was bad enough for Mr. Booze to make the remarks, and it is worse for him to deny them even if he is under the lash of just criticism of the Race press.

The sadest part of the whole affair is that Mr. Booze had nothing to do with the case—is not a factor in the Republican party in Mississippi—has never been sent even as a delegate to a convention from this state—and I can count him the adversary of nobody in particular, but, like Quixote, he is

merely fighting an imaginary foe. I had fully decided to pass the matter unnoticed if Mr. Booze had not denied the charge and sought to discredit the support given me by my bosom friend, Colonel Simmons, whose name, along with those of Johnson, Cohen, Church, Abbott, Wright, Ellis, Scott, Boyd, Hueston, Lewis, Louis Anderson, Cary, Thomas, Nutter, Waters, Matthews, Cobb, Finley Wilson, Tyler, Greene, Cottrill (and others who prefer that their names be not mentioned) are among the immortals, so far as I am concerned.

The affair at St. Louis cemented together the Republicans of Mississippi as they have never been before and they will undo, two years hence, what the national committee unfortunately and temporarily did last month.

At that great judgment day in Mississippi every man will be measured by his deserts.

HENRY W. HOWARD,
Jackson, Miss.

Alderman Jackson Defends the Race in the City Council

At the regular meeting of the city council Monday Alderman Jackson defended the Race and the ward against the attacks of two daily newspapers who insist upon referring to the two representatives of the Second ward as the two Negro Republican aldermen from the Second ward. Alderman Jackson, in refusing to vote for the Nance ordinance which drew the fire of the newspapers, said in part, "that he observed by the newspapers, the supposed great exponents of American liberty, that there were three classes of aldermen in the city council and that they were classified as follows: Aldermen who personified the wishes of the press constituted the first class; Sullivan Democrats, who constituted the second class, and the two Negro Republican aldermen from the Second ward, who constituted the third class. For the first class, it must be assumed that they are the 'simon pure' class because they bask in the sunshine of their masters; for the second class, it is assumed that they are satisfied with their official classification and have no apologies to offer; for the third class, let me say that I am proud of my class; proud of the fact that I am a Negro; proud of the fact that I am a Republican and a disciple of Abraham Lincoln, and proud of the fact that I represent the Second ward, the greatest Republican ward in the great city of Chicago. It is at this time that I take this opportunity to say to the two newspapers of Chicago who slap at the two Negro representatives of the ward we have the honor to represent, that the Race to which we belong can be classed as the most loyal American citizens that can be found under the flag of our country. Our record reaches from Bunker Hill to San Juan Hill. We were first at the north pole with Peary; we were the last with Pershing to leave Mexico and we are somewhere in France today."

CITY NEWS IN BRIEF

ST LOUIS MO REUNION
OCTOBER 24, 1918
The Associated Negro Democratic Ward Club indorsed Joseph W. Folk, Democratic candidate for United States Senator, at a meeting yesterday at 1606 Morgan street. Calvin Branch, president of the organization, presided at the meeting. Alonzo Church is secretary. The club will hold another meeting Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock at the Newport Hotel, 2323 Market street.

Immediately after being sworn in the judge was confronted in his chambers by his associates on the bench, by a number of ladies, by a large gathering of friendly lawyers, and by the members of the Washington Lawyers' Association. His courtroom was crowded. Royal A. Hughes, president of the Washington Lawyers' Association, arose, while the judge sat in a bower of flowers and made a feeling and eloquent address of congratulation and felicitation, and then on the part of his associates presented the judge with an elaborate basket of flowers designed by Powell and a handsome leather brief case.

Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, the famous wife of the judge, was called upon by Hon. James A. Cobb and spoke sympathetically of the appreciation in which her husband is held by the members of the bar and his associates on the bench. The ladies present were Mrs. Terrell and their daughter Mary; Mrs. Arthur Brooks; Mrs. Walter Singleton, Miss Jeannette Carter and Mrs. George Burrell of Philadelphia, Pa.

like it in the history of the Race, but the opening having been made, we are sure we shall have many more such as the toilsome, serpentine years come and go.

Chicago Defender
Aldermen Have Protection Placed

Numerous complaints have been coming to the ward offices of Aldermen Anderson and Jackson, 3333 So. State street, regarding conditions on the Lake Michigan beach between 29th and 33rd streets with regard to the disposition on the part of a gang of white ruffians to prevent Race people from bathing in the lake.

The aldermen at once made protest to the South Park Commission, under whose jurisdiction the beach is, and the police department. In the course of the investigation by the aldermen with regard to these conditions it developed that the life guards under the jurisdiction of the South Park Commission were largely responsible for the assaults upon Race people seeking the privileges of bathing there. In a number of cases it was found that the life guards actually prohibited persons of color from entering the water at certain points, which resulted in the greater part of the friction between the races, because it encouraged lawlessness on the part of the white ruffians, who needed little or no incentive for venting their prejudice upon Race people.

Supt. Foster of the South Park Commission was sought out and the facts were laid before him. He professed ignorance of the condition, but assured the aldermen that he would see to it that the practices as represented by Aldermen Anderson and Jackson as being true of the life guards would be discontinued.

Feeling perhaps that the South Park authorities would not exercise the vigorous control over the situation which would result in the complete discontinuance of these vicious and un-American practices on the part of the whites, and supported by the life guards employed by the South Park Commission, the aldermen brought the matter to the attention of the Acting First Deputy Supt. of Police, Captain Morgan Collins. When they explained the facts as above set forth Captain Collins immediately issued an order to the commanding officer of the third district directing that a detail of one officer be made on the beach to patrol it between the points above indicated. The officer reported for duty on Sunday of this week and has been constantly on the job since and will be under the order during the entire bathing season.

The aldermen made a personal inspection of the beach subsequent to the issuance of the order, and found the colored people bathing freely and without interference. This prompt action on the part of the police acting upon the aldermen's complaint is commendable in the highest degree and strikingly illustrates the value of law enforcement and the keen watchfulness of the rights of our people on the part

atives in the city council. The Race people are to be congratulated on having two vigorous and alert representatives in the city council who always

act together and in harmonious accord in defense of the rights and privileges guaranteed under the law to their constituents.

NEGRO CLERGY IN DRAGNET OF MITCHEL FUND

Three Pastors Who Shared \$2,746 Slush Money in Rush to Sign Vouchers Dated 63 Days Back

That several negro pastors who got part of the \$2,000,000 Mitchel Slush Fund are panicky about their participation was shown yesterday in the office of the District Attorney. Three pastors of churches acknowledged that they had signed vouchers showing slush fund payments within the past twenty-four hours.

Assistant District Attorney Edwin P. Kilroe interrogated the pastors about \$2,746 they got during the campaign. Sam A. Lewisohn, treasurer of the Fusion Committee, they testified gave them the money. The pastors were the Rev. H. Arthur Booker, rector of St. Paul's Baptist Church; the Rev. W. W. Brown, Metropolitan Baptist Church, and the Rev. G. H. Simms Union Baptist Church.

All three pastors said they received \$150 apiece for speaking for Mitchell and on the same day each received \$90 for clerks and sundries. Mr. Kilroe noticed that the vouchers, dated November 2, appeared to have been only recently signed by Mr. Booker and Mr. Brown. The pastors acknowledged that not only had their names been signed to the vouchers within the last twenty-four hours, but that their signatures had been placed on the vouchers by a clerk.

GODSOL RESENTS INQUIRY.

Frank J. Godsol, also known as Frank J. Golsoll, who has recently been the subject of a statement by the French Government, for which he purchased war supplies, was questioned. Mr. Kilroe said Godsol was born in Cleveland, later left Philadelphia and is the largest stockholder in a company which operates jewelry stores. Godsol declined to be interrogated as to his troubles with the French Government.

Godsol is carded in the Mitchell Slush Fund receipts as a \$5,000 contributor. He said he had destroyed this check, which was made out personally to the Mayor. He refused to discuss his private business until threatened with a Grand Jury subpoena. Then he said his income from the jewelry company was about \$100,000 a year. He also said he was a French subject. He failed to explain why he, a non-voter, gave \$5,000 to the Mitchell campaign.

CALLS CHILDS A "BOSS."

That William Hamlin Childs was a "boss" and that he ran the Mitchell campaign with an iron hand, was the statement made to the Prosecutor by Joseph M. Price, originally a Mitchell man, who broke with the managers during the campaign. He said:

"Mr. Childs ran the campaign with an iron hand. The Executive Committee met at the time of the nominations to give its report, and after nominations were made, it never met once; Mr. Childs never presented any plans to the Committee and never told what they were going to do."

Mr. Price said the first Mitchell campaign cost only \$150,000 or \$200,000, and he was of the opinion that this \$2,000,000 Slush Fund was outrageous.

"No one had any right to spend such money on a municipal campaign," he said. "It was stupidly done, even the way the money was spent. But one of the good things it showed was that no matter how much money you have, you can't elect a man that way." Then followed this testimony:

Q. What do you think, Mr. Price, of the ethics of this fund? A. It was very bad ethics and bad politics.

\$20,000 FOR THE PRIMARIES.

Q. Is it not a known fact that the money interests and the corporations were behind the Fusion candidates? A. I saw it during the formation of the committee—with its Republican predominance, and I spoke several times to people who were interested in it. The theory was that the Republican organization four years ago was so soft, not getting what they wanted from the old Committee of One Hundred and Seven, that this time they must be judges of what was going to be done. From the formation of the committee down to the nominations the Republican leaders in this town were the ones whose advice was taken, and the result of it was that they didn't take any interest. The managers got fooled all the way through, and that's what lost them the primaries—taking the interested advice of political leaders, such as not to go over to Brooklyn, keeping the Fusion forces out of Brooklyn so as not to make a campaign over there and upset things. I believe they gave the organization \$20,000 for those primaries.

GIFT OF MAGISTRATE'S JOB.

Benjamin Patterson, who was for thirty days a magistrate and then appointed by Mayor Mitchel as Civil Service Commissioner, said Charles Steckler obtained these appointments for him, after he had worked for Mitchel and for the City Democracy.

Henry Morgenthau and A. W. Erickson will be examined to-morrow.

MRS. HOWARD GOULD GIVES RANSOM AID

**Says Negroes Are Traitor
if They Fail to Support Him**

If the Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom, the

colored candidate for election to the House of Representatives, doesn't poll a big vote next Tuesday. It won't be the fault of Mrs. Howard Gould, who "in the interests of democracy" addressed a crowded meeting of negro voters in the other Zion Church at 136th street near Seventh avenue, last night.

Mrs. Gould, with the exception of three reporters, was the only white person in the hall. The experience with large audiences that she gained as an actress stood her in good stead and she displayed no self-consciousness as she denounced the white political leaders who would try to influence the negro voters to desert Ransom at the polls on March 5.

"Any colored man in this district who votes against Mr. Ransom is a traitor to his race and to democracy," she said. "If th. white man, the Republican captain, tries to insist on your voting for his man, he is be-guiling you and is not your friend."

"Now that the black women of the North have political power, they must band together for the black women of the South. You black people must strangle the Solid South.

"We call people blacks and whites now, but some day we'll call them United States Americans," went on Mrs. Gould. "On March 5 you will have a chance to help President Wilson in this fight for democracy."

"Black men are now fighting side by side with white men in the trenches. They are fighting for the world democracy. And they are fighting for the democracy of a country which at one time boasted a King whose atrocities surpassed any of those committed on black men in history."

The last sentence evidently referred to King Leopold, uncle of the present King of the Belgians.

Following her speech, Mrs. Gould called for a collection to "help keep the polls straight" and started it with a \$100 contribution of her own.

COLORED REPUBLICANS ANSWER NEGRO DEMOCRATS

A reply to a circular issued by the Essex County Colored Democratic Association, entitled "The Burning Issue," has been made by five colored members of the Republican County Committee. The circular of the negro Democrats declared ~~deceitful~~ ^{deceitful} ~~one~~ ^{one} ~~great~~ ^{great} ~~issue~~ ^{issue} for the colored people. The reply declares that ~~more~~ ^{more} ~~than~~ ^{than} ~~one~~ ^{one} ~~per~~ ^{per} ~~cent~~ ^{cent} ~~citizen~~ ^{citizen} are holding public position under Government Edge than ever before. That under Democratic rule in the National Government the places occupied by fifteen negroes formerly are now occupied by white men.

It also declares that in every place under Democratic rule, the negro has been discriminated against. The statement is signed by James H. Tisdale, Ambrose B. Miller, Andrew Simms, Freeman Epps and Charles W. Lewis.

Frederick M. Roberts, candidate for the Assembly in the Seventy-four district, is receiving the strong support of the Republican State Central Committee, the Republican County Central Committee and the Anti-Saloon League.

COLORED PASTORS APPEAL TO COLORED VOTERS OF THE COUNTY

INDIANAPOLIS (IND) NEWS

OCTOBER 21, 1918

The following statement bearing on the coming election was issued today by the Rev. S. D. Davis, pastor of the Blackford Street A. M. E. Zion church, who was authorized to speak on the question for all of the pastors of the A. M. E. Zion church:

"To the Colored Voters of Indianapolis and Marion County:

"The recent appeal of President Wilson asking the country, which includes the colored people to indorse his administration at the coming election by returning a Democratic majority to congress, startled and aroused the colored people of the north like the blast of a hostile trumpet at midnight. This is not a party war; its burdens are being borne by all Americans alike in congress.

"The next congress will be known as a reconstruction congress. The question arises by whom shall society and government be reconstructed. The colored people are unwilling that the problem of reconstruction be handled by men who have betrayed democracy by the use of disfranchisements and jim crow laws as instruments of power to fasten the claims of its representatives upon the country. Whom will you have to assist in the reconstruction of society and government? Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft or John Sharp Williams, Governor Blease and Henry K. Vardaman? Your answer expresses the difference between the Republican party and the Democratic party in their attitudes toward the colored man.

Some Possibilities.

"With the south in the saddle, a Democratic congress may mean the repeal of all the amendments that have been written into the Constitution by the blood of our fathers and the common sacrifice of both white and black men who wore the blue.

"The colored man is doing his part in the fighting. He has sent his sons and gone as freely as his political opponents, but when the writer of a communication to the Indianapolis Star predicts a Democratic victory because 3,200 colored boys of voting age have been called to the colors and sent over the seas and distributed among the camps, we wonder if we are not justified in making the deduction that the writer of that communication questions the wisdom of Almighty God for permitting the influenza to interfere with plans to send more colored boys away in large numbers before the election. The colored people are willing to make the supreme sacrifice on the battlefield of liberty to make the world safe for democracy, but they are unwilling to pledge their all in the struggle to make Marion county safe for the Democratic party.

"It is not necessary for the colored man to submit to any new test to prove his loyalty to the government. It is not necessary for the colored man to vote for Frank Baker, a recent comer from Mississippi, for criminal judge, or Schlosser for congress to attest his loyalty to the government.

"A humiliating defeat awaits the Democratic party in Indianapolis next Tuesday because the God of heaven will not give victory to any party whose boast through one of its candidates is: 'We sent the niggers to war and the Republicans can't win because of this handicap.'

Rebuke for Joe Bell.

"The Republican ticket in Marion county will win as it deserves to do, because its chance of success does not depend upon the amount of tears and sorrow it has been able to produce among the colored people on account of

the war. In other words its candidates are too patriotic to make any such boast.

"We appeal to the colored voters of Marion county to keep the home fire burning by voting the straight Republican ticket and registering a rebuke to the Joe Bell, Frank Baker ticket whose ideals of democracy are not accepted by the great heart of the colored people.

"After careful investigation of the Republican ticket, we find that all its candidates represent the principles which underlie our Republican institutions. We regard this election more important than any that has been held since 1861. And we urge every colored voter to work and vote early for Merrill Moore for congress; Charles Adams, prosecuting attorney; William W. Thornton, for judge of Room 1; Linn D. Hay, for judge of Room 2; Ernest R. Keith, for judge of Room 3; Vincent G. Clifford, for judge of Room 4; Theophilus J. Moll, for judge of Room 5; Mahlon E. Bash, for judge of the probate court; James A. Collins, for judge of criminal court; Frank J. Lehr, for judge of juvenile court; Richard V. Sipe, for county clerk; Leo K. Fessler, for county auditor; Ralph A. Lemcke, for county treasurer; John W. Castor, for county recorder; Robert F. Miller, for sheriff; Dr. Paul F. Robinson, for coroner and John J. Griffith, for surveyor.

"We also remind you not to overlook the legislative and township tickets. We submit our deductions to the colored people of Indianapolis, hoping that this address to them will arouse a deeper interest in this election and help to furnish a part of the big majority by which the Republican ticket will be elected Tuesday, November 5."

NEGROES RESENT FAILURE TO GET APPOINTMENTS

PITTSBURG PA PRESS

JULY 21, 1918

Some resentment has arisen in the Negro population of the city against local postoffice authorities for failure of the latter to appoint several Negro women who passed the civil service examinations for government positions. Heads of the mail service here contend that their action is not appointing Negroes was taken to avoid a disruption of the local mail system.

According to statements made by leading Negro residents, several women of that race passed the required examinations last year and in January were recommended to Postmaster Guffey for appointment. They charge that through the influence of Superintendent of Mails L. G. Hart, the appointments were not made. They claim that racial antipathy is responsible for Hart's intervention, and that while Negroes are dying on the battle field of Europe in the cause of Americanism, no time for race discrimination.

DENIES RACE PREJUDICE.

Postmaster Guffey yesterday was out of town, but Mr. Hart, when interviewed, said: "The Negro ques-

tion, which recently was brought up in the postoffice, is an unhappy situation that was unavoidable. As I understand the situation, three Negro women passed the examinations together with 21 white women. Only a few of these could be appointed and the appointments fell to white women. The postal laws require that the list of eligibles then be canceled as future appointments must be selected from examinations that are held later. The charge that racial feeling led me to intervene in the appointments is not true. Postmaster Guffey alone has the power to choose employees and my opinions would carry no weight with him if he intends doing otherwise. Many Negroes are now in the employ of this office as mail carriers and general workers. At the time that the names of the three Negro women were brought up for appointment, a petition was handed to Postmaster Guffey signed by the white employees requesting that the appointment of the Negro women be withheld."

Colored Women Endorse Candidates on Regular Democratic Ticket

EL PASO TEX TIMES

JULY 26, 1918

At the meeting held by members of the Colored Women's Progressive club at the Shiloh Baptist church, Magoffin avenue, yesterday afternoon, Senator Claude Huesbeth and the candidates on the regular county Democratic ticket were endorsed. Members of the association stated they had always received fair and courteous treatment at the hands of the county officers and urged their re-election to a second term. Senator Huesbeth was highly commended for the work he had done. The Prairie View Normal and for other measures he was successful in putting through.

County Attorney W. H. Fryer and Justice A. J. Hall addressed the club. Others who spoke were Mrs. S. G. Gill, Mrs. G. K. Fitzgiles, Mrs. A. J. Berry, Rev. V. A. Cook, G. A. Gill and Dr. G. K. Fitzgiles. The club will hold another meeting at Second and Virginia streets this afternoon at 2:30 o'clock.

Officers of the club elected for the coming year were: Mrs. G. K. Fitzgiles, president; Mrs. L. J. Kelly, vice president; Mrs. Hattie Townsend, secretary; Mrs. S. G. Gill, assistant secretary; Mrs. W. B. Thomas, treasurer, and Mrs. A. J. Perry and Mrs. Julia Nixon, representatives.

ALAN N.Y. EAGLE

MARCH 3, 1918
COLORED CLERGYMAN UNLUCKY.

A pretty good illustration of the difficulties that hedge about the citizen who has aspirations to go to Congress, and wants to run without any boss endorsement, is afforded by the case of the Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom, a Manhattan colored minister, who sought to make the contest in the Twenty-first Congress District. He trusted his petitions to friends. A court contest was started by Republican machinists who desired to hold the colored vote. Supreme Court Justice Erlanger denies to the colored man a place on the ballot, while acknowledging that over-zealousness rather than fraud was the error of the petition circulators, and acquitting the clergyman of any im-

propriety.

So the Rev. Mr. Ransom will run independently and take the votes of all his admirers who will write his name on their ballots. His vote will not be large, of course. It will be in the nature of a protest. Probably it will not interfere with Republican success.

We may assume that the court followed the letter of the law. Yet it is true that technicalities are too much in evidence in these election petition contests; and it is true that the community should wish every candidate who has a substantial following to have his name on the ballot, not to keep off as many as possible for the benefit of the machinists' candidates. In the Ransom case it is asserted that hundreds of valid names were not filed because it was supposed that enough had been furnished. That was an error of judgment. A veteran politician would have made no such mistake.

COLORED G. O. P.

MEET HERE TODAY

FRENTON N.J. GAZETTE
AUGUST 17, 1918

The auditorium of the Republican club will be the scene of a conference at 4 o'clock this afternoon of negro representatives of the republican party of the state, the call for the meeting having been issued by Hamilton Travis, president of the State Federation of Colored Organizations, the biggest body of its sort in the east.

The meeting today is expected to be largely attended, a very county in New Jersey excepting Warren, Hunterdon and Sussex, sending delegates. Discussion of the senatorial situation as it relates to the candidates which the colored voters will support in the primaries, is the object of the conference.

Mr. Travis, who hails from Orange, was looked upon as the likely candidate of the negroes for the assembly, but has since made way for George A. Douglass, prominent Essex county attorney, who is expected to receive that

didates for United States senator and congressman. Senator George W. Norris and A. W. Jefferis are the kind of men who are not afraid to lend their assistance to stamping out any vicious measure that would be a menace to the welfare of the republican party or one that would place the negroes further away from the rights that the state and federal constitutions intended for them to enjoy. W. E. ALEXANDER,
2512 N. 25th St.

AUSTIN TEXAS STATESMAN

JUNE 6, 1918

Colored Welfare Board Has Meet

The colored welfare board, appointed by the City Commissioners a few weeks ago, met last night at the Olive Street school. Reports from the committees showed considerable activity along lines looking to the general good.

The board established a general labor bureau at the office of William M. Tears and planned for an anti-fly week to begin June 16 under the direction of the health committee of the welfare board, Prof. L. C. Anderson, chairman. The object of this campaign is to educate the public about the fly as a means of spreading disease. Prof. E. F. Dennes announced that the school board had granted the request of the welfare board permitting the home economic department to remain open during the fruit season for the benefit of the negro housewives of the city.

The board decided to begin a movement among negro women, for the purpose of enlightening them on the question of registration in connection with the new suffragette law passed by the last Legislature.

Upon the suggestion of Dr. E. H. Givens the board requested the negro teachers to instruct their pupils to look at the sun during next Saturday's eclipse through smoked glass or through a piece of developed photographic film in order to avoid the ill effects often arising from exposure of the human retina to intense sunlight, as suggested by Dr. A. E. Blessingame in a recent issue of The Statesman.

Dr. W. H. Crawford, chairman of the welfare board and Urof. W. H. Basson, secretary, were named as a committee to draw up the monthly report to the City Commissioners.

CIVIC LEAGUE RE-NAMES JOHNSON AT SUN. CONFAB

New York, July 15.—At the convention held by the United Civic League at Palace Casino last Sunday, Hon. Edward A. Johnson was re-named as the League's candidate for the Assembly from the 19th Assembly District and John Clifford Hawkins from the 21st. Dr. R. C. Ransom was also named for Congress from the 19th Congressional District. About fifty or more names were presented as County Committeemen. Among the speakers were H. W. Carpenter, Dr. Geo. W. Cannon of New Jersey and Hon. Jos. Manning, ex-State Senator of Alabama. John M. Royall presided

OMAHA NEB BEE

OCTOBER 27, 1918

Advice to Colored Voters.

Omaha, Oct. 25.—To the Editor of The Bee: The congressional election that occurs on Tuesday, November 5, is an event of more than casual importance to negroes at large. When a negro thinks of his own welfare he should extend that thought to 12,000,000 other negroes in America.

Some may have doubts as to the sincerity of the republican party, yet we should be thankful for what the party has done, and that it is the only ray of light we can follow with any surety of escaping the evils that have caused so much negro emigration from the southland to northern industrial centers.

Nebraska, especially Douglas county, has several thousands of these people. The republican party presents two able, conservative can-

Political - 1918

Office Holding

SELECTION OF DOUGLAS BY G. O. P. FOR ASSEMBLY RACE IS PUZZLING

Colored Men Were Strongly Opposed to Lawyer, but County Committee Ignores Them.

NEWARK, N. J., July 8, 1918.

The name of George A. Douglas, a colored lawyer of Newark, appears on the list of candidates for the Assembly recommended by the Essex County Republican Committee for the coming primaries. Mr. Douglas was selected in spite of strong opposition to his candidacy on the part of a large number of colored Republicans throughout the county.

This opposition was based upon the claim that he belonged to a class of negroes known secretly among their people as "Colored Caucasians," because of lack of interest in and affiliation with movements and efforts having for their purpose negro racial uplift and betterment. This feeling is quite general among the colored people, who advised the County Republican chairman at conferences held on two different occasions that it was their desire to see a negro placed on the ticket who was known to be in full touch and sympathy with their racial endeavors.

Just how the situation growing out of the selection of Mr. Douglas will be met and what action the leaders of the opposition will take remains to be seen. It has been suggested that to continue the opposition to the extent of opposing the ticket in the coming primaries would appear inconsistent, because it was upon the principle that recognition on the Assembly ticket was a just due that the colored Republicans of the county have been making repeated requests for years. Now that the request has been granted, it is claimed that the individuality of the candidate named is not of as much moment as the fact that the race has been recognized. On the other hand, it is held by others that the peculiar position and condition of the race at the present time make it imperative that a man of full race affiliation be chosen.

NEGRO PASTOR ASKS FLOCK TO

RESCUE G. O. P.

Appeal Issued to Indiana Avenue Voters By Rev. S. D. Davis.

PREDICTS DEFEAT FOR DEMOCRATS

Negro Attorney Comes to Judge Collins' Aid in Letter.

INDIANAPOLIS IND TIMES
NOVEMBER 1, 1918
By FELIX F. BRUNER.

Although they failed to persuade the Church Federation of Indianapolis to endorse their candidacies, the republican candidates in Marion county have succeeded in bringing the Zion A. M. E. church, a negro congregation, into politics and in securing an appeal from the negro minister for his church members to vote the republican ticket. Republican success in Marion county during the recent years has rested on the Indiana avenue voters. Without the negro plurality there would not be a republican in office in Marion county today. Hence the appeal to the negro voters through the negro preacher.

The rather long appeal to the negroes was signed by Rev. S. D. Davis, pastor of the Blackford Street A. M. E. Zion church, who says he is speaking for all the pastor of the A. M. E. Zion church. The statement of the negro minister looks suspiciously like the same argument put out by the republican organization in various other advertisements. **SAYS CITIZENSHIP IS IN DANGER.**

The appeal starts with the statement that the congress to be elected next Tuesday will be a reconstruction congress and that it would be composed of republicans. Then there is an appeal to the negro in the rather laughable statement that the democrats may repeal the amendments to the constitution that give the negro his citizenship.

This statement is made in the face of a letter written by Merrill Moores to the woman's franchise league of Indiana in which he stated that he believes in qualifications other than those of citizenship for voters and that many people of the south are not ready to vote. He refers in his letter indirectly to the negroes of both the north and the south as not being qualified to vote.

PREDICTS DEFEAT FOR DEMOCRATS.

"A humiliating defeat awaits the democratic party in Indianapolis because God in heaven will not give victory to any party whose boast through one of its candidates is: 'We sent the niggers to war and the republicans can't win because of this handicap,' the statement continues.

"The republican party in Marion county will win, as it deserves to do, because its chance of success does not depend upon the tears and sorrow it has been able to produce among the colored people because of the war. In other words, its candidates are too patriotic to make such a boast."

The statement does not go so far as to say the republicans have promised to give negroes exemption from service in order to obtain their vote, but it insinuates as much. The statement failed to say, however, what Marion county democrats had to do with the negroes being called in their regular turn in the draft.

EFFORTS CENTERED ON INDIANA AVENUE.

That the republicans are centering their efforts on Indiana avenue has been shown by the hundreds of duplications in registrations made among negro voters by republican politicians. These duplications have now been taken from the books, cutting the "avenue" registration nearly in half and eliminating all possibility of shipping into the precincts large number of repeaters.

W. E. Henderson, negro attorney, who aided in the defense of Frank Ellis and Albert Austin, negro confidence men, has come to the defense of Judge James A. Collins, who has been the subject of criticism because he convicted Austin of stealing a \$50 Liberty Bond and sentenced him for petit larceny instead of grand larceny.

Mr. Henderson seems to have his facts twisted, for the case, as it appears on the records of the criminal court, is identical with the statement of it in The Times some time ago. Henderson says the evidence showed that the bond was obtained by a sort of "gambling." This may have been true, but the fact remains that Judge Collins did not find Austin guilty of gambling, but of petit larceny.

REAL FACTS GIVEN IN CASE.

The facts in the case are, in brief, these: Austin and Ellis were arrested by the police and bound over to the grand jury by the city court. The grand jury returned indictments on three counts, grand larceny, embezzlement and buncho steering. On motion of the state attorney he imposed a condition precedent the latter two counts were dismissed and on Austin that he repay Fisher, the two men were tried on the first count the man from Chicago, the \$67 that he and found guilty. They filed a motion for a new trial and a new trial was granted Austin and denied Ellis. The use and benefit of Fisher within a court then suspended the sentence imposed on Ellis during his good behavior and allowed Austin to plead guilty to petit larceny and proceeded to sentence him for petit larceny.

There was nothing in the evidence to show that he stole anything but a \$50 Liberty Bond. Thus Judge Collins fixed the price of a \$50 bond at less than \$25 for the theft of property of the value of more than \$25 is grand larceny under the statutes of the state. The supreme court also has ruled that a sentence can not be suspended by a trial judge except at the time it is pronounced.

STATEMENT MADE BY NEGRO ATTORNEY.

The negro attorney's letter follows: "Editor The Times—I noticed recently in three different issues of your paper you have referred to the case in the criminal court of Frank Ellis and Al-

bert Austin, indicted on three counts by the grand jury and convicted by Judge Collins. Your criticism of Judge Collins in this matter is absolutely unwarranted and is not borne out by the facts. I think, had you taken the time and called on the reporter for the evidence in this case, instead of criticising Judge Collins, you would be praising him on the opinion rendered in that case.

Briefly, the evidence will show that after the state had rested its case the defendant's counsel made a motion that the state elect on which count of the indictment it would stand. Having chosen the first count, the defendants by counsel moved for a dismissal of each of the defendants upon the ground that the state had failed to make its case. The motion was overruled, whereupon in order to maintain their defense the defendants showed by each of the defendants that it was nothing more nor less than a plain case of ordinary gambling and betting on a pool game and their defense was corroborated by the prosecuting witness for the state, the only witness for the state, who was himself shown to be by the evidence of the defendants a pool shark.

EVIDENCE MEAGER, SAYS ATTORNEY.

"The state would have failed completely to make its case had not it been for the evidence of one Holloway, over the objection of counsel for defendants, who testified he lost \$67 through Austin's method of gaming. Austin admitted, however, that he had been convicted in the District of Columbia for gaming. Notwithstanding this meager evidence the court failing to give these defendants the benefit of the doubt, found each of the defendants guilty as charged in the first count and sentenced them both from one to fourteen years in the penitentiary. It was shown conclusively that Frank Ellis was never arrested and convicted of any crime before in his life. He was he guilty of any offense other than that he was a stakeholder for Austin and the prosecuting witness for the state.

"The counsel for the defendants, feeling that the evidence did not warrant conviction, filed their motion for a new trial immediately, which resulted in the prosecuting attorney, Mr. Rucker, recommending to the court the verdict as forth in The Times. Such an act is common in all of the courts that I have ever practiced in for the last twenty years. Before the court would accept counts, grand larceny, embezzlement and buncho steering. On motion of the state attorney he imposed a condition precedent on Austin that he repay Fisher, the two men were tried on the first count the man from Chicago, the \$67 that he and found guilty. They filed a motion for a new trial and a new trial was granted Austin and denied Ellis. The use and benefit of Fisher within a court then suspended the sentence imposed on Ellis during his good behavior and allowed Austin to plead guilty to petit larceny and proceeded to sentence him for petit larceny.

SAYS COURT HAS RIGHT OF DISCRETION.

"Now, what was wrong with this? The court has a clear right in his discretion under the statutes to render such judgments. In the state against Potter, Judge Alford ignored the evidence and sentenced Potter to the penitentiary for manslaughter. Four months after filing the brief Judge Alford was reversed and Potter discharged. Had we not accepted the compromise verdict in this case and appealed the case to the supreme court, in our opinion, the same thing would have resulted.

"It can not be said, as intimated by your paper, that Judge Collins was influenced by any ulterior motive and modified his judgment in sustaining the motion for a new trial as to one and

suspending sentence as to the other. As both of these men were nonresidents of the state of Indiana no benefit could have accrued, directly or otherwise, to the prosecuting attorney or to Judge Collins by virtue of the opinion herein rendered. Had these defendants been white and their attorneys white, I dare say your paper would have said nothing about the incident, and had Austin's record been a clear one as that of Ellis' I believe the court would have permitted him to have gone on a suspended sentence.

"I make this statement for the sole and only purpose of letting the people of Marion county know the true facts in this case. Believing in the rule of fair play, we hope that your paper will give this article space in your paper.

Respectfully yours,

W. E. HENDERSON,

Attorney for One of the Defendants.

Boyie Fisher, negro, who Henderson refers to as "the Chicago man," lives at 1917 Cornell avenue. He had \$300 in the bank and a \$50 Liberty bond when it was alleged by the state he was swindled by Ellis and Austin. He posted the bond as security for a bet that he could prove a negro could deposit money in a white man's bank in Indianapolis and Ellis and Austin were indicted for disappearing with the bond when Fisher went to get his pass book to prove he had the money in bank.

NEGRO IS AFTER MADDEN'S SEAT

James A. Scott's Candidacy Alarms Friends of First District Congressman

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

JUNE 13, 1918

GOOD CHANCE, SAYS DE PRIEST

Men of His Race Said to Out-number White Voters in That Locality

By JOE D. SALKELD

Congressman Martin B. Madden's friends are discussing the advisability of sending him an S. O. S. call to come to Chicago at once and bring a bag of nails and a hammer to strengthen his First district fences.

They have discovered that the candidacy of James A. Scott, a negro lawyer who has entered the lists against the congressman for the republican nomination has reached such proportions that it threatens to smash the boards on the territorial in which Mr. Madden has kept his "cinch" for fourteen years.

Oscar De Priest, former colored alderman of the Second ward, who, while he was in the council, was strongly aligned with the Thompson administration, is

backing Scott. They have formed an organization known as the "people's movement" and if reports from the vicinity of thirty-third and State streets, where they have meetings on Sunday afternoons, are correct, it is doing some moving.

Left It to Harding

Heretofore Congressman Madden has never been much concerned about the nomination and has left such minor matters to his friend, Senator George F. Harding, Jr. The colored republicans of that district have always gone along and done about as Harding told them to do. De Priest and Harding used to work together, but it seems that one or the other has kicked over the traces.

Scott has lived in Chicago twenty-seven years and insists that the negroes should have a representative in congress. It is seventeen years since George H. White of North Carolina, the last colored congressman, sat in the house of representatives. Negroes now outnumber the whites in the First congressional district, according to Mr. Scott. Industrial conditions have caused this and the influx of negro families from the south in response to Chicago's call for workmen, has brought it about.

There being 10,000,000 negroes in the United States unrepresented in congress, although the nation does not hesitate to call upon its colored men to fight the Hun, Mr. Scott believes the first congressional district this year offers a splendid opportunity for the people of his race to rise up and send one of their color to Washington.

Good Chance, Says De Priest

Scott formerly was in the state's attorney's office and is regarded as an authority on extradition laws. He has written a book on the subject. He lives at 3710 Prairie avenue, and De Priest, a veteran of many hard-fought battles in the Second ward, which with the First and part of the Third ward forms the first congressional district, declares there is a splendid chance for him to carry off the plum.

Incidentally, it is said, that De Priest would like to be a candidate for state senator to succeed Samuel A. Ettelson, who will not run again because of his duties as corporation counsel. Also the Scott-De Priest crowd declare Morris Lewis, a stenographer for the Peck estate, will make a good candidate for the house of representatives. One element in the district, however, regards Lewis as too much of a "high brow."

"Three P's" After Foss' Seat

Evanston's three "P's," James A. Patten, George W. Paullin and Joseph E. Paden are having their political measures taken to see if they will fit Congressman George Edmund Foss' seat in the house of representatives, according to the political gossipers. Mr. Patten, known in the palmy days of the board of trade as the "wheat king," is said to have no serious intentions, but some of his friends have urged him to get into the race. Paullin is a Chicago sanitary district trustee, and Paden, the third P in the pod, formerly was mayor of Evanston. Mr. Paden got an idea in 1912 that he would like to run for governor, but soon saw the error of his way.

Meantime Mr. Foss is not too busy with his candidacy for the senatorial nomination to enjoy some hearty laughter over the scramble of the republicans to get the congressional nomination, the race for which has become a free-for-all. Alder-elect from the district, Frank O. man Henry D. Capitain, Carl Chindbloom and W. C. Moderwell oiled their sulkeys and got on the track for trial heats Tuesday. They say Capitain showed early speed, but soon took to the street cars which, although slow, were more to his liking because of his long experience as chairman of the council's local transportation committee. Mr. Deneen, 'tis said, will furnish the alderman with a high-powered automobile if the street cars prove too slow.

Price Assails Roosevelt

In an open letter to Illinois republicans, Lin William Price, republican candidate for congressman-at-large warns against the "Roosevelt for president" propaganda and refers to Roosevelt's personal attacks on President Wilson as "unpatriotic" and "deplorable."

The letter reads:

"The insidious third-term propaganda which is manifesting itself within the republican party under the slogan of 'Roosevelt for president in 1920' should be frowned upon by all loyal republicans. In 1912 Roosevelt called republicans 'liars, thieves, crooks' and 'robbers.'"

"Today he seeks the presidential toga on a like issue of personal denunciation in which he directs his charges against President Wilson and Postmaster General Burleson. Such methods of campaigning are unpatriotic and deplorable not only in times of war but in times of peace."

McKinley for McCormick

Medill McCormick fired his first big gun in his campaign for the republican nomination for senator when he made public a letter written by Congressman William B. McKinley of the Nineteenth district, endorsing his candidacy. Mr. McKinley, who always has been an old guard leader in the state, says that at a recent meeting the congressional committee of the district decided "that it is to the best interests of the party to support for United States senator Medill McCormick."

Charles H. Hamill, former law partner and political associate of Charles S. Deneen, also has come out in support of Mr. McCormick. He points out in a letter that they have not always agreed in the past on matters political.

NEGRO LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATE DEFEATED

Official Count Shows O'Brien Led Riley by 337 in Fourth District.

LOUIS MOORE DISPATCH, MAY 13, 1918

William M. Riley, negro politician, of 925A North Jefferson avenue, will not sit in the State Legislature as representative from the Fourth St. Louis District. Unofficial returns had seemed to indicate his election, but the official count completed yesterday showed that he was beaten by 337 votes, this being the plurality of James T. O'Brien, who received the highest number of votes on the Democratic ticket. Riley received 8284 and O'Brien 8621.

Three representatives were to be elected from the district. Frank O. Bittner and Edward G. Davidson and W. C. Metz were the Republicans elected. O'Brien will be the only St. Louis Democrat in the next legislature.

The official count of the Third and Fourth Legislative Districts and on Justices of the Peace and Constable

is as follows:

Third Legislative District—Emory W. Chase (Dem.), 5181; John P. Connor (Dem.), 5287; John J. Moroney (Dem.), 5176; Charles P. Comer (Rep.), 5510; Julius A. Razovsky (Rep.), 5399; Hugh K. Wagner (Rep.), 5516.

Fourth Legislative District—Edward J. Hogan (Dem.), 8254; Thomas J. McNamara (Dem.), 8522; James T. O'Brien (Dem.), 8621; Frank O. Bittner (Rep.), 9845; Edward G. Davidson (Rep.), 9779; William M. Riley (Rep.), 8284.

Justice of the Peace.

First District—John E. Gaskill (Dem.), 6245; H. J. Pfeiffer (Rep.), 14,421.

Second District—William Kaiser (Dem.), 3336; Henry Pfeiffer (Rep.), 5342.

Third District—Edward E. Rice (Dem.), 3974; R. E. Moore (Rep.), 3766.

Fourth District (two to be elected)—Frank J. Costello (Dem.), 1821; A. A. Lancaster (Dem.), 1804; Harry McChesney (Rep.), 3718; Homer G. Phillips (Ind.), 664.

Fifth District—Andrew Gazzolo (Dem.), 3064; Charles S. Thompson (Dem.), 2990; William J. Blesse (Rep.), 4063; Gabriel Roth (Dem.), 3016.

Sixth District—James P. Miles (Dem.), 3376 (no opposition).

Seventh District—James A. Kiply (Dem.), 3990; F. W. Beckmann (Rep.), 6014.

Eighth District—Andrew Scully (Dem.), 12,114; George Grassmuck (Rep.), 14,894.

Ninth District—T. A. Giesel (Dem.), 11,225; W. D. Moore (Rep.), 14,868.

Constables.

First District—W. F. Rogge (Dem.), 6253; John Eyermaun (Rep.), 14,500.

Second District—W. H. Flowers (Dem.), 3221; William Dutzi (Rep.), 5470.

Third District—J. E. Clooney (Dem.), 3342; John W. Shine (Rep.), 4346.

Fourth District (two to be elected)—H. W. O'Brien (Dem.), 2053; P. A. O'Donnell (Dem.), 2308; F. E. Bush (Rep.), 3886; C. H. Turpin (Rep.), 3302.

Fifth District (two to be elected)—W. T. Egan (Dem.), 3069; James J. Tracy (Dem.), 2902; P. A. Austin (Rep.), 3080.

Sixth District—John F. Byrne (Dem.), 3401. (No opposition.)

Seventh District—G. O. Rittenhouse (Dem.), 4052; Henry Landwehr (Rep.), 5921.

Eighth District—E. P. O'Neil (Dem.), 11,857; E. W. Klorer (Rep.), 15,247.

Ninth District—J. C. Repetto (Dem.), 11,248; W. C. Metz (Rep.), 14,889.

The official count on the vote for State Senators has not been completed, but has progressed far enough to show the election of the Republican candidates, Conway Elder, Peter Anderson and W. S. Depelheuer.

White Republicans Defeat Dr. Riley

Political Tricksters Knifed Candidate at Eleventh Hour, Allowing Democrat to Win Out

By J. M. Batchman

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 22.—The voters of this old town were handed a lesson as usual by the political tricksters who have been at the game of bunco for many years. The daily paper conceded the election of Dr. William M. Riley in the Republican landslide of Nov. 5. This was especially true of the St. Louis Republic, the leading Democratic organ of the state, which took the trouble to inform the voters of Dr. Riley's district as to his nationality. It is evident the Republic had some good reason to state that Dr. Riley was elected and commented on the fact he would be the "first Negro" to sit in the legislature of the state.

White Republicans Knife Riley

The recent announcement of the election board that he had been defeated by a white Democrat, James T. O'Brien, by 337 votes raises a question in the minds of reasonable persons as to whether this is another Turpin case. One thing is absolutely certain beyond any doubt—the Republican party ingloriously failed our people by not putting Riley over in a clear-cut manner, as it did all its other candidates, and in urging, through its auxiliary committee, our voters to vote straight encompassed the elimination of Attorney Homer G. Phillips as a serious factor in the justice of the peace election. The result secured was exactly what they wanted, and the Negro Republican politicians of the city stand out as being again the dupes of a party in power which seldom makes good locally.

Fraud Hinted

According to the figures given out by the election board, Mr. Riley ran fifth among the six candidates, with a vote of 8,284. Bittner and Davidson, the white Republicans, received 9,845 and 9,779 votes respectively, while O'Brien (white), the nearest Democrat, and the one who it is claimed defeated Riley, received 8,621. The white Republicans of the district failed at the eleventh hour to support Riley, while our people stood firm for Bittner and Davidson, white Republicans. The machine men, headed by Aaron Malone, did their duty nobly, but the white steam roller fellows did not come clean, as any one acquainted with the political situation in this city can readily understand. Such lessons have been frequent in recent years, but the cure—the independent voter—does not materialize overnight.

Recently a dispatch came out of Jef-

erson City stating the people were much "het" up over the prospect of a "Negro member" sitting in the legislature. One man offered a bet of \$100 Dr. Riley would never take his seat. He seems to have known how to place his money.

Colored Citizens Have Legislator

As Their Guest
ROCHESTER N. Y. TIMES
MAY 31, 1918

Colored citizens held a Memorial Day celebration at Convention Hall yesterday afternoon, preceded by a parade and the placing of wreaths upon the statue of Frederick Douglass in St. Paul Street. Guest of the occasion was Edward A. Johnson, the only representative of his race ever elected to the New York Legislature.

Exercises at Convention Hall were opened with the singing of "America," and the invocation was pronounced by the Rev. E. D. W. Jones. John W. Thompson presided. Formal welcome in behalf of the city was extended by Mayor's Secretary Bernard J. Haggarty, and Assemblyman Simon L. Adler paid tribute to the guest of the day.

Assemblyman Johnson spoke of the record of the colored man as a fighter in the ranks of the United States' defenders, and suggested that Memorial Day was an especially befitting occasion for the rededication of the lives of the colored men to the United States.

A musical and literary program was also carried out in connection with the celebration, participants being Mrs. George W. Derham, Mrs. W. I. Green, Mrs. John G. Lee and Charles M. Van Buren. The day was brought to a close with a reception tendered Assemblyman Johnson at Marvel Hall.

Four Women and Negro Will Take Place

in 1919 Legislature
SACRAMENTO CAL. 4E
SEPTEMBER 4, 1918

The California State Legislature of 1919 will have the distinction of numbering among its members four women and a negro. It will be the first time a woman has been among the law-making body and also the first time a colored man has enjoyed that honor.

The women are: Mrs. Elizabeth Hughes of the Seventh District, residing at 415 Pine Street, Oroville.

Anna M. Saylor of the Forty-first District, residing at 1031 Oxford Street, Berkeley, Alameda County.

Esto Broughton of the Forty-sixth District, residing at 1715 Downey Avenue, Modesto, Stanislaus County.

Grace S. Dorris of the Fifty-sixth District, residing at 2130 Park Way, Bakersfield, Kern County.

Each of these was on both tickets and they were practically elected at the primaries.

The negro, who secured the nomination on the Republican ticket, is Frederick M. Roberts of the Seventy-fourth District, residing at 1121 South Los Angeles Street, Los Angeles. The district is populated for the most part by people of his own race and is strongly Republican.

Political - 1918

Office Holding

MRS. GOULD UPHOLDS NEGRO CANDIDATE TO HELP RACE

She Wishes to See Colored Man in America Get Simple Justice—Our Treatment of Him Worst Page in Our History, Her View—Admires Ramson's Platform.

N.Y.C. WORKER
MARCH 1, 1918

Candidacy for representative from the Twenty-first Congressional District of the Rev. Reverdy C. Ramson, negro preacher and editor, has received a sudden boost in the support of Mrs. Howard Gould, whose address before a negro mass-meeting Tuesday night at the Mother Zion Church in 136th Street, near Seventh Avenue, created a sensation. Mrs. Gould was accompanied by her colored maid. With the exception of three reporters she was the only white person present.

Asked by a woman reporter for the World for her reasons in taking so radical a step, Mrs. Gould, who was about to board a train for Chicago, where she will attend the convention of the newly founded National Party, said:

"I am afraid I can hardly explain in terms that will carry conviction. Frankly, I merely acted in accordance with the deepest and most sincere promptings of my conscience. When I tell you that I am a Southern woman, a Clermons of Clemmonsville, N.C., you will understand that I have no theories of race equality to exploit.

"I want to see the negro in America get simple justice and an opportunity to develop all his possibilities for good and useful citizenship. To my mind, the blackest page in our national history is our treatment of our citizens of African descent. It sickens me to the soul to read frightful accounts of negro lynchings in the South for supposed offenses which a white man might commit with impunity.

"It is worth remembering that the bogey of racial equality has two sides to it. In my studies of the problem, and I have lived in the South and know it as only a Southerner can, I have found that there are more white men ready to break down race lines and cohabit with black women than there are black women desirous of living with white men. That is so elementary there can be no excuse for overlooking it."

Mrs. Gould said she did not know the colored candidate at all well. She had first seen a statement of his platform and had been impressed with the fairness of the demands of a section where there are more negroes than anywhere else in like area in the world for representation in Congress. Mrs. Gould continued: "From my conversations with Mr. Ramson I have come to respect highly his intellectual integrity. I know he would be the last man to stand for disruptive theories of racial quality, but I do believe that in Con-

consin System Is Objectionable.

GIVES POLITICAL POWER

Albert M. Kales of Chicago Suggests Means of Eliminating Weakness

MILWAUKEE WIS SENTINEL
JUNE 28, 1918
Special Dispatch to The Sentinel.

RACINE—In an address on "Selection and Retirement of Judges" before the State Bar association, gathered in annual session here, Albert M. Kales, Chicago, formerly professor of law at Northwestern and Harvard universities, said the Wisconsin de facto method of appointment is objectionable because of its instability.

"When one is confronted with the best method of selecting judges there is only one course to take and that is to consider the best method of appointment," said Mr. Kales. "When the elective system results in appointment by party political leaders as a reward for purely political services, it is at its worst. It would be greatly improved if the power of appointment were openly conferred upon the executive committee of the county central committee representing the party most generally successful in the last preceding election. Such an appointing power would at least be legal and would place a certain degree of public responsibility upon those exercising the appointing power."

For Helping Negroes.

The convention went on record as favoring the education of the negroes throughout the south and giving them equal rights of the southern people to cast ballots at elections.

The resolution was adopted following an address by Moorfield Storey, Boston, on "The Negro Question." A special committee headed by Chief Justice Winslow, John M. Whitehead, Janesville, and Burr W. Jones, was appointed to prepare resolutions covering the entire recommendations of Mr. Storey, who said the suppression of negro rights in the south is a disgrace to the nation. He said the negroes must be educated so they will know our country's laws, that by doing lynchings will be abolished.

Winslow Made President.

John B. Winslow, chief justice of the Supreme court of Wisconsin, was unanimously elected president of the association, to succeed R. D. Marshall, an associate justice of the Supreme court.

George E. Morton of Milwaukee was re-elected secretary-treasurer and Arthur A. McLeod of Madison re-elected assistant secretary.

OHIO CONGRESSMAN APPOINTS COLORED YOUTH TO WEST POINT.

The Cincinnati News
Only Three Race Graduates From Famous Military School.
(Special to The News.)

Dayton, Ohio, March 7.—It has been years since any Congressman has appointed a Colored man to West Point,

it being the prerogative of Congress



BYRON ALEXANDER

men to make such appointments after a competitive examination, Congressman Warren Gard of this district, last month appointed Byron Alexander, a young Colored man 17 years of age, to West Point, after Alexander had led the list and outstripped all competitors in an examination for the honor.

Young Alexander is the son of well known people here and is unusually brilliant, having graduated from Stivers High School last year. Mr. Alexander anticipates no trouble over his color and is preparing to accept the appointment.

Only three Colored men have been graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point. Henry O. Flipper, 1877, the first to graduate, served for a time in the regular army, but because of difficulties, resigned and went to Mexico. John H. Alexander, the second, died while serving as military instructor at Wilberforce University. Charles Young, the third graduate, is now a colonel (retired) in the United States army.

COLORED PARTY
CANDIDATE WINS
IN STRAW VOTE

GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER

LEADS IN CANVASS
OVER CHOICES OF THE
OLD PARTIES.

N.Y.C. CALL
OCTOBER 21, 1918

Dr. George Frazier Miller, Negro Socialist candidate for Congress from the 21st district, in a straw ballot taken during registration polled more than double the votes of his Democratic and Republican opponents.

The straw vote was taken by the New York Independent, a Negro paper, which claims to be non-partisan.

Miller polled 4,683 votes; Donovan, Democrat, 349, and Bolles, Republican, 981.

Commenting on this, the Independent said:

"The campaign of intelligence waged by the progressive element for the past 10 years in Harlem is now having its effect. Candidates can no longer solicit the support of the colored voter with a recital of the history of Lincoln and by opening a keg or two of beer.

"Candidates must now campaign on issues relating to and beneficial to the Negroes as a race and as citizens of America. Party politics is fast becoming obsolete and played by only the few job-jugglers who are not interested in the general progress of things, except as applied to them individually for their own selfish gain.

In taking the straw ballot in order to learn how the people of Harlem were disposed towards the congressional candidates—which showed that George Frazier Miller, the only colored candidate on the Socialist ticket, ran far ahead of both Republican and Democrat—we find that their decision to support Miller is not based on the race question, but on the issues presented by him as published on page 5 of this paper. No other candidate seems to think the negro worthy of intelligent consideration. Mr. Bolles has hinted that segregation in Washington will be stopped by him if elected. But Mr. Bolles does not show how it is possible for him, a Republican, to do this in a Democratic house.

The House of Congress is entirely white and has been so for some time. This is not due to the lack of ambition in colored men to qualify or to seek such offices, but to the unwritten law of the political bosses that no negro should be supported by them for any office. Therefore the election of Bolles to Congress is in itself an indorsement of segregation. A Republican in Congress today will have no more power than Miller, the negro and Socialist candidate. In fact, if he is elected he will be in possession of the deciding vote, giving the negro immense power to do for himself and his country. The vote cast for Miller in the test conducted by the New York Independent shows clearly that the congressional contest will be a very close one.

Negroes and Politics
N.Y.C. CALL
OCTOBER 21, 1918
From the Crusader.

Year after year, Negroes with characteristic faithfulness and self-contempt, have helped to elect white men

to high offices of trust and honor. Ambitious white politicians have with remarkable regularity deceived Negro voters with campaign pledges which were never fulfilled. And in this deception they are ably aided by conscienceless and contemptible Negro hirelings who would not be stopped by any honorable barrier.

In no other campaign, so far as Negroes and local candidates are concerned, has the line of demarcation been so clearly defined and well-established as it is this year. Never before in the history of politics in this state has any of the parties been so just and considerate as the Socialist party has been in nominating and supporting three Negroes without plea or compromise.

The Socialist party was as wise in its selection of the men as it was in its decision to insure political justice to the Negro masses. We have confidence in the character and ability of the Negro candidates. We believe that they will acquit themselves honorably in the respective legislative assemblies and strive unceasingly to promote the best interests of our race. Knowing the merits of George Frazier Miller, A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, we urge the voters to give them their support.

The election of the Negro candidates means the vindication of the principle of elective representation.

We have been too long subservient to parties. Too long have we blindly followed the advice of white men and their tools. It must be remembered that Republicans and Democrats have taken turns in lying to Negroes. Both parties have ignored the needs of Negro communities. Unlike the white communities, there is not a single playground or bathhouse in any Negro community. Through the lack of playgrounds Negro boys and girls, whose very lives depend upon wholesome aid and proper exercise, are exposed to serious dangers. As a result, whenever Negro children—through the lack of playgrounds—play in the streets, some are brutalized by white policemen and others are killed by speeding automobiles.

Such conditions obtain because Negroes generally do not vote intelligently. Their senseless subservience to the political parties prevents them from voting wisely and thereby improving whatever conditions are injurious to their welfare.

Every race—except the Negro race—is well represented in the different legislative assemblies. No man who does not suffer from an untoward condition can fully appreciate its awful effects. The prejudice and injustice of white men justify the belief that Negroes, to be well represented, must be represented by Negroes.

The time has come when we must cease to be instruments of political parties. We must take an independent and united stand for greater elective representation.

Regardless of what may be said to the contrary, it remains a fact that when our political fortunes as a race are involved Republicans are Democrats and Democrats are Republicans.

The difference between the two powerful parties is only nominal: The one party is just as unfair and prejudiced in its treatment of its Negro members as is the other.

Negroes must choose between party subservience and race-allegiance. To be blindly loyal to any party is to be indifferent to the future of our children and to sacrifice the best interests of our race. The situation demands that we put our race before our party.

We must not permit ourselves to be deceived by any foolish chatter to the effect that any party has a claim on us because it gives insignificant offices to a few members of our race. As a matter of fact, Republican administrations have appointed Negroes as a matter of political expediency and as compensation for services rendered, and Democratic administration have appointed Negroes for the same reason.

The trouble with us Negroes is that we are too easily swayed. We are ever ready to magnify things which are of no importance and to unreasonably minimize and forget the gravest and most unpardonable injustices.

Our race should not drift into political slavery because of the appointment of a few of its members to unimportant offices.

NEGROES ANGERED AT G. O. P. SLATE

Colored Orators Rap Efforts of the Organization to "Discriminate."

THEY'RE FOR SHANK

INDIANAPOLIS-IND TIMES

APRIL 30, 1918

There's not a dark spot on the Republican "organization" slate, not a

negro candidate gets a look-in, and this

has started something over in the "avenue."

The bosses at the City hall, Court house and West Washington street

distributed their "selection" of men to

vote for at a number of meetings last

night and the row with many a

it grows more intense.

The Rev. Henry Parker, a negro

preacher, announced at a meeting last

night at Darnell and Eleventh streets

that two colored orators have been im-

ported from the south to whoop it up

for the organization. The Rev. Parker

declared that those orators would have

a "heap" of trouble making the negroes

of Indianapolis understand why those

policemen who beat up negro voters at

an election previous to the present ad-

ministration have not been discharged

from the force.

The Rev. Parker did not hesitate to

declare who he is for for congress and

said that he was for Lew Shank. This

announcement brought applause from the

audience. It appeared that Moores and

Bookwalter adherents in that meeting

were a minus quantity—so minus, in fact,

that they did not appear on the surface.

SAYS SLATE MAKERS

ARE TOO ACTIVE.

Another negro orator, W. H. Jackson,

declared the only difference between the

former administration and the present

is that the former would not let the

negro vote and the present is trying to

keep them from voting for the men of

their choice. Jackson asserted that the

slate makers were entirely too active and

that something was going to happen at

the primary.

A dozen other meetings were held last

night by the republicans in practically

all parts of the city and in every one of

them there was an insinuation that the

"organization" was trying to boss the

voters at the coming primary, or open

assertions that the slate makers over in

the city hall and the courthouse could

not read men out of the republican party.

In some places the atmosphere was lurid

in denunciation of the bunch of bosses

who are trying to pick the men who

shall be voted for.

BOOKWALTER WILL NOT DROP OUT.

Aside from the activities at the meet-

ings other things were going on in the

ranks of the republicans that indicated

that the bomb throwers had been doing

nasty work. One report was to the effect

that Charles A. Bookwalter, candidate

for congress, would resign at the last

moment, thus putting the race squarely

between Moores and Shank. This state-

ment, however, was exploded when Book-

walter gave it out that he was in the

race to a finish and that he did not be-

lieve that the people of Indianapolis and

the Seventh district were going to per-

mit any one to say who should be nomi-

nated. Bookwalter made it plain that

he expected to be nominated, and he also

gave it out that he would run his cam-

paign to suit himself.

It has been announced that the "or-

ganization" had begun to throw oil on

the troubled waters and that its per-

suasiveness had begun to bear fruit. At

all the meetings last night it was clear

the reverse effect is growing and that the

tangle is both more tangled and intense.

The cry has gone out that if Shank is

nominated his candidacy will endanger

the entire ticket at the election next fall.

But the fight goes merrily on in spite of

scarecrows and "sink or swim, survive

or perish" the rank and file declare they

will not be bossed by a bunch of as-

sumed personal-interest campaign di-

rectors in the courthouse and the city

hall.

NEGRO DEFEATED FOR LEGISLATURE BY 337 MAJORITY

Official Count Discloses That Democrat Was Elected in

ST LOUIS MO STAR

NOVEMBER 13, 1918

Official figures announced by the

Board of Election Commissioners to-

day revealed that William M. Riley,

negro candidate for the legislature

on the Republican ticket in the

Fourth district, at first believed

elected, had been defeated by 337

votes.

James T. O'Brien, Democrat, was

elected.

The public generally did not knowhouse (Dem.), 4,052; Henry Land-

that the Republican candidate was awehr (Rep.), 5,921.

negro until a few days before the Eighth District—E. P. O'Neill

election. When it was learned he (Dem.), 11,857; E. W. Klore

was a negro, he was scratched con-(Rep.), 15,247.

siderably by Republicans.

The official count of the vote for (Dem.), 11,248; W. C. Metz (Rep.)

the Third and Fourth legislative dis-14,889.

tricts, and for justices of the peace

and constables, showed the follow-

ing results:

Third Legislative District—Emory

W. Chase (Dem.), 5,181; John P.

Connor (Dem.), 5,287; John J. Mo-

ronney (Dem.), 5,176; Charles P.

Comer (Rep.), 5,510; Julius A. Ra-

zovsky (Rep.), 5,399; Hugh K. Wag-

ner (Rep.), 5,516.

Fourth Legislative District—Ed-

ward J. Hogan (Dem.), 8,254; Thom-

as J. McNamara (Dem.), 8,522;

James T. O'Brien (Dem.), 8,621;

Frank O. Bittner (Rep.), 9,845; Ed-

ward G. Davidson (Rep.), 9,779; Wil-

liam M. Riley (Rep.), 8,284.

Justice of the peace:

First District—John E. Gaskill

(Dem.), 6,245; H. J. Pfeiffer (Rep.),

14,421.

Second District — William Kaler

(Dem.), 3,336; Henry Pfeifle (Rep.),

5,342.

Third District — Edward E. Rice

(Dem.), 3,974; R. E. Moore (Rep.),

3,766.

Fourth District (two to be elected)

—Frank J. Costello (Dem.), 1,821;

A. A. Lancaster (Dem.), 1,804;

Harry McChesney (Rep.), 3,718; Jo-

seph L. Schuler (Rep.), 3,364; Ho-

mer G. Phillips (Ind.), 664.

Fifth District — Andrew Gazzolo

(Dem.), 3,064; Charles S. Thomp-

son (Dem.), 2,990; William J. Blesse

(Rep.), 3,063; Gabriel Roth (Rep.),

3,016.

Sixth District—James P. Miles

(Dem.), 3,376 (no opposition).

Seventh District—James A. Kieley

(Dem.), 3,990; F. W. Beckmann

(Rep.), 6,014.

Eighth District—Andrew Scully

(Dem.), 12,114; George Grassmuck

(Rep.), 14,894.

Ninth District—T. A. Giesel

(Dem.), 11,225; W. D. Moore

(Rep.), 14,868.

Constables:

First District—W. F. Rogge

(Dem.), 6,253; John Eyerman

(Rep.), 14,500.

Second District—W. H. Flowers

(Dem.), 3,221; William Dutzi

(Rep.), 5,470.

Third District—J. E. Clooney

(Dem.), 3,342; John W. Shinc

(Rep.), 4,346.

Fourth District (two to be elect-

ed)—H. W. O'Brien (Dem.), 2,053;

P. A. O'Donnell (Dem.), 2,808; F.

E. Bush (Rep.), 3,885; C. H. Tur-

pin (Rep.), 3,302.

Fifth District (two to be elected)

—W. T. Egan (Dem.), 3,069; James

J. Tracy (Dem.), 2,901; O. A. Arm-

strong (Rep.), 2,992; P. A. Austin

(Rep.), 3,080.

Sixth District—John F. Byrne

(Dem.), 3,401. (No opposition).

Seventh District—G. O. Ritten-

er (Rep.), 3,302.

Fifth District (two to be elected)

—W. T. Egan (Dem.), 3,069; James

J. Tracy (Dem.), 2,901; O. A. Arm-

strong (Rep.), 2,992; P. A. Austin

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Sixth District—John F. Byrne

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Sixth District—John F. Byrne

Political - 1918.

Office Holding

DISRUPTION OF G. O. P. TICKET IS NEWEST THREAT

NEGRO IS NAMED CANDIDATE FOR LOWER HOUSE

Eighth Ward Delegation De-
fies White Politicians
to Bolt.

KANSAS CITY POST

Disruption of the entire Republican city ticket is threatened by the nomination last night of William C. Hueston, negro attorney, as a candidate for lower house alderman from the Eighth ward.

Eugene H. Blake, candidate for city comptroller, left the convention without accepting his nomination in order to await the action of the negro delegates from the Eighth ward, and it is understood he will refuse to run. He probably will carry with him a number of other candidates, especially those on the lower house ticket.

The negroes on the Eighth ward delegation, numbering 27 to 13 white delegates, rebelled when party leaders attempted to whip them into line, and declared they would "call the bluff" of the white men.

"And I don't believe a man will leave the ticket," one big negro delegate said.

The Republican city convention was a turbulent one, lasting from 10 o'clock yesterday morning until 10 o'clock last night. Bitterly the anti-Marks faction opposed the Marks men, but in the end the organization boss was victorious. He succeeded in "rolling" Judge Joseph F. Keirnan for the renomination of judge of the South municipal court, and Edwin C. Meserve as a candidate for renomination of the school board. Most of the lower house candidates were white men, and he got a good sale in the upper house.

The elimination of all vice is the paramount issue of the city campaign, and then calmly turned from this smug declaration of virtue to the practical task of defeating Judge Keirnan for renomination, thereby confessing its subservience to the influence of those gamblers, parasites, women of street and illegal liquor and dope sellers who have been driven out of the southern part of the city by the actions

of that judge.

Cheered Steam Roller.

The delegates cheered their steam rollings of Keirnan. He had defied the bosses. He had refused to protect vice, when caught. And the bosses had decreed his political death.

Then they cheered with the same vigor the denunciation of vice, of the Jefferson hotel, and its alleged alliance with Democratic bosses.

Denouncing vice, the delegates obeyed the voice of vice which hated Keirnan.

The camouflage of platform declaration was not considered natural enough by Cyrus Crance and Eugene Blake, the leading candidates, to cover Judge Fred Coon, whose attitude towards vice has been so different than that of Keirnan, and on their insistence that he be kept from the public view, in order that the treatment of Keirnan might not be so pronounced and the vice issue not so easily exposed as political fakery, Coon was left off the ticket.

The negro question and the refusal of Hueston to withdraw was considered the most serious thing that could happen to the party ticket by Republican leaders.

Homer H. Mann, South side leader, told the negro delegates that the white delegates would leave the convention if Hueston were nominated. **Strive to Soothe Faction.**

"If that is the case, I'll just call their bluff," Hueston said.

The leaders, hearing of Hueston's reply, were afraid to put the convention to a test, and withheld the selection of lower house candidates until the last. Instead of ratifying them fully the doubling of the price of gas, agreed that each ward delegation should have the sole say so as to the ward's candidate for the lower house. This prevented the depudiation of Hueston by the white delegates and the consequent alienation of the negro vote, a big factor in every success the Republicans have ever won. It also gave the leaders a chance to work on the Eighth ward delegation at an executive session in an effort to convince the negroes they were making a mistake.

Hold Secret Session. The convention adjourned without the Eighth ward candidate being turned in. Thomas R. Marks and Thomas Reynolds, who headed the negro delegation, held a secret session with the negroes after the convention.

There the negroes were told that candidates on the ticket would quit if Hueston went on. But the negroes said this was their chance, and they would not recede. They voted unanimously for Hueston, the 13 white men of the standing against them.

Hueston was a delegate to the last Republican national convention and sat as alternate for Herbert S. Hadley,

former governor.

When Eugene Blake was nominated by the entire convention for comptroller, he could not be found in the hall to make his acceptance speech. It was said afterwards that he left in order not to accept, so that he could be in a position to quit if Hueston was nominated.

Republicans Play Into Hands of Gas Company.

The Republican city convention, in the platform it adopted last night, played into the hands of the Kansas City Gas company by advocating the furnishing of artificial gas by that company whenever the supply of natural gas is insufficient. That is exactly what the gas company wants so that it can hike the price of gas to \$1 a 1,000 feet.

The platform proclaims the paramount issue of the campaign to be the driving of vice from Kansas City. It pledges its nominees to strike at the Jefferson hotel.

Mayor Edwards especially is praised for his votes as a member of the police board against licensing questionable places.

Praises Edwards Administration.

The Edwards administration is upheld as a model one, many planks of the platform being given over to enumerating the things that have been accomplished by that administration. Credit is claimed for the paving of downtown streets, paying off debts, starting flood protection work, regulating pool halls, fighting unsuccessfully the doubling of the price of gas, and caring for the municipal water-works system.

The proposed increase in street car fare is opposed, and a pledge is made that the party will fight to bar the state public service commission from legal supervision of that matter.

Another attempt to frame a charter is advocated. Home rule for the police department is demanded.

Completion of work on the Union station plaza and the Twenty-third street trafficway is promised and the purchase of the Intercity viaduct by the two Kansas Cities is urged.

Favor Boost for Teachers.

The proposed increase of one mill in the taxation for schools is favored with a 25 per cent increase in salaries of elementary teachers.

The suffrage plank of the 1916 Republican national platform is given an "O. K." without reference to local conditions.

Increase of property assessments by the state authorities is condemned as leading to higher taxes.

The platform starts and ends with declarations of loyalty to the nation in time of war and pledges unqualified support to President Wilson in the con-

duct of the war.

Crane Blames K. C. Vice Conditions on Opponents.

Charging that government officials had threatened to quarantine Kansas City against visiting soldiers on account of vice conditions here, Cyrus Crane, in accepting the Republican nomination for mayor, last night laid the blame for the alleged conditions on the Democrats. The nominee followed the lead of his party's platform in attacking the Jefferson hotel.

A defense of his career as a corporation attorney was made by him. He urged his supporters not to be afraid of the Democratic campaign cry that he is a corporation lawyer.

"You will hear that I have been an attorney for corporations," he said. "Well, I admit it. But don't be afraid of that. I am willing to throw down this challenge: If anyone, who makes the charge against me, will go where my life work has been done will go into any of the courts presided over by Democrats, and find a single judge who says that those corporation cases have not been tried fairly, then I will withdraw from your ticket."

"If any man will say that, because I have earned by living trying cases for corporations, just as have the brakemen or conductor, I am dominated by corporate influences, I will go down into the switch shanties and onto top of trains and bring 10 men here who will tell you I have been fair with them, notwithstanding my employment."

The nominee said he owned no stocks and no financial interests in any of the corporations he has served and the only bonds he owns have the word "Liberty" marked across them and were issued by the government.

"Every one of us owes full support to the president," he said. "I am glad to say to you that, in my judgment, he is doing the best that is in him to win the war. But don't forget that, because we are Republicans and loyal, that does not mean that we must let our party die."

Central Committeemen Elected by Republicans.

The following Republican city central committeemen were elected by the G. O. P. convention:

First ward—Charles E. Rader, W. E. Riverberg.

Second ward—A. C. Rule, A. C. Stone.

Third ward—E. Mont Reilly, John E. Miller.

Fourth ward—Charles H. Greenman, Oscar Magnuson.

Fifth ward—Angelo Girard, Dr. W. L. Hollister, Alex. Beasley.

Sixth ward—Nathan Becker, John J. Shea.

Seventh ward—Jesse T. Shaffley, Martin Ditzler.

Eighth ward—Clarence R. Groves, M. H. Lambright, Harry Koehler, Thomas H. Reynolds.

Ninth ward—Harry B. McCray, Theodore S. Jones.

Tenth ward—Wentworth E. Griffin, Fred B. Mertzheimer.

Eleventh ward—Fred A. Richardson, Cameron L. Orr, Fred Dabney.

Twelfth ward—Dell D. Dutton, Henry C. Page.

Thirteenth ward—J. H. Chandler, F. H. Rogers.

Fourteenth ward—W. C. Snyder, James P. Chaney.

Fifteenth ward—James C. Fisher, Howard J. Packer.

Sixteenth ward—George G. Goodwin, Edgar Wilson.

A NEGRO REPRESENTATIVE NEEDED IN THE AGRICULTURAL DE- PARTMENT.

The Negro farmers should have a representative in the Agricultural Department. The War can be won only by the fullest co-operation of farming classes, the bread raisers of the country.

One of the slogans of the government is "Food will Win the War."

In the South the Negro farmers constitute at least thirty per cent of the entire farming population. In one or two states the number of Negro farmers actually exceeds that of the whites.

The amount of cotton, tobacco and foodstuff produced by them is enormous and is unquestionably largely helpful to the government in its war activities.

Would it not be wise and judicious to adopt a policy towards these loyal and industrious workers that will stimulate them to a greater endeavor by giving them substantial recognition thus making them feel that they are looked upon by the government as a part of its machinery, a useful and not to be ignored cog in its industrial wheel?

A little praise, a little showing of appreciation, a slight recognition unimportant in itself, but vastly important to those upon whom it is bestowed will have a wonderful tonic effect upon a class of humble hard working people who have hither-

to received no recognition whatsoever from the government either directly or indirectly.

Every Negro in America feels that because the race has a representative in the War Department the interests of Negro soldiers will be given just and fair consideration and for that reason largely among others Negro loyalty and patriotism has been stirred to activity as never before.

The recent addition of a Negro representative to the Labor Department has drawn the Negro laboring masses closer to the government and will cause them to labor with a more earnest zeal and increased energy and efficiency in turning the wheels of industry upon which the government depends to furnish supplies and equipment for its armies, its Allies, and the support and maintenance of the people at home.

We sincerely hope that a similar relationship between Negro farmers and the government will soon be established as that of the Negro soldiers and their relatives and the Negro laborers and the government.

No mistake can possibly come from extending the hand of encouragement to them.

COLUMBUS O JOURNAL
MARCH 3, 1918
Colored Boy to Annapolis.

Congressman Ward of the Third District, who has just announced his candidacy for the nomination of his party for a third term, has caused some excitement by announcing the appointment of a young colored boy at Dayton as a midshipman at the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis. The congressman had several vacancies to fill at this time and decided to award them by the merit system on a competitive examination, the candidates taking the nominations for principalships and alternates in the order of their grades. A

committee of teachers conducted the examination. The colored boy came out with a high grade, one that entitled him to a principalship, and the congressman was not deterred by this fact from doing just as he had said he would, and the colored boy's name has gone to the academy authorities. Of course, he has yet to pass the entrance physical and mental examinations, which are very rigid and severe, but if his standing in the local examination is any indication he should not have much trouble in the mental test.

Of course there is no reason in law why colored boys should not be appointed, especially when they prove their fitness for taking up the training at the academy, but it is not being done, that is all. It is said that never but once was a colored boy appointed to the academy. That was back in the days when hazing was tolerated at the academy, all the "plebes" getting it severely, and life was made so unpleasant for many, the colored appointee among them, that they resigned. It may be different now, since hazing is not permitted, at least nothing severe.

There have been a number of colored boys appointed to West Point and at least one was graduated and is in the service. But the question of how they can be assigned in the service without encountering the prejudice that still prevails is the perplexing one at the end of the road.

Who'll Run For Congress?

With frequent announcements of congressional candidacies in the other districts of the state, people are beginning to ask here who are to be the candidates in the Twelfth District. On the Republican side they are all at sea. If Chairman Cathcart has any candidate in his mind he is keeping him dark. There are known to be a number of aspirants, but they are mostly of the young lawyer class, upon whom the party leaders do not look with favor.

When it comes to picking a candidate for Congress you want a seasoned man, naturally, at any time, and somehow the idea has got into people's heads that with the war on the Washington job is a man's job, and broad shoulders, mentally and physically speaking, are in demand. Something definite along this line is expected about the time the advisory committee gets to work.

On the Democratic side sentiment seems to be favoring Mr. Brumbaugh as the candidate again. Chairman Ross says he has given the matter no attention and will not for some time. Too early to know what is best to do, is the way he dismisses it. He said practically the same thing about this time two years ago. No statement has been made by Congressman Brumbaugh, but if the organization wants him he no doubt will make the race. The job has called for support of the president and that he has given.

AN IMPORTANT POSITION HELD BY COLORED WOMAN

Washington, D.C., October 14.—Miss Jeanette Carter, who has just been appointed Director of the Colored Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation in the U. S. Department of Labor, with many war workers in her bureau, is one of the most talented and accomplished women the race has produced. She comes of a family of Carters distinguished in law, medicine and business, her brother, William Justin Carter, of Harrisburg, being one of the most successful lawyers in Western Pennsylvania, without regard to race.

Miss Carter read law at Howard University, and has made a specialty of departmental practice for several years. She has been one of the most successful pension attorneys here, and the first of her race to be admitted to practice, appearing before all of the bureaus, including the War Department, Interior Department, Indian, Land and Patent Offices, and is the first colored woman to successfully practice law in this section of the country. In connection with her practice, she was the first colored woman here to be appointed a notary public for the District of Columbia.

Miss Carter has become widely known as a newspaper correspondent, having been actively associated with several papers of the race during the past four years, and is now the Washington representative of the New York Age.

More than a year ago Miss Carter, with a few choice women of the race, organized the Woman Wage Earners' Association, of which she is the president, which grew to be a large and influential organization before the declaration of war upon the German allies. As soon as the war broke out Miss Carter offered the services of her association, and her own personal services, to the Government, principally the United States Labor Department, and she has been instrumental in placing a large number of women workers at the disposal of the Labor Department.

She was asked to take part in the War Charities Board of the District of Columbia, including all of the charity organizations composed of women in the District of Columbia, and was the only colored organization represented in the joint organization.

Miss Carter was upon the committee on organization of the allied charities, and assisted in framing the rules and regulations under which the allied organization now works, and which has in its membership some of the

most distinguished women of the nation residing at the National Capitol.

As a public speaker Miss Carter is magnetic and forceful, and she has achieved much success in arousing our working women to the importance of organizing to protect and promote their interests. She is a young woman of girlish build, long and wiry, and full of dynamic, nervous energy, with engaging manners and an amiable disposition, which has won her a host of admirers here and all over the country, her offices in the National Benefit Building, 609 F street, Northwest, being one of the places which most of the distinguished visitors to the National Capitol call before leaving the city.

In the distinction which has come to Miss Carter, the race has been signally honored in a woman who has made a success here in a field where many men have failed, and who may be relied upon to promote to the utmost the interests of the race, in her official capacity, as she has heretofore, in private station, given unsparingly of her time and means, as above all, she is intensely a race woman.

A PUBLIC SERVICE PUZZLE

One of the puzzling conditions in a cosmopolitan city like New York is the persistence of color exclusion in various branches of public service. Especially is this marked in the transportation service, where so many thousands of workers are employed on the subway, surface and elevated lines. The prerequisite to employment in any grade beyond that of porter or cleaner seems to be a white face. Yet insistently enough those porters and cleaners of darker hue are frequently seen acting as ticket choppers, temporarily occupying the high chairs and pumping the box handles with the nonchalant of the regulars on the job.

Even with the scarcity of manpower sufficient to furnish conductors and guards for surface trolleys and subways, there seems no disposition to resort to the employment of others than those of white complexion. Half-grown boys and immature girls have been put at tasks beyond their normal strength to maintain the exclusively white character of

this transportation service. Is there any good and sufficient reason for this exclusion of the Negro from such positions as conductors, motormen, guards and any place above that of porter? Is his exclusion due to the opposition of the traveling public, the railway employees or the supreme power that rules the board of directors and orders the rising and setting of the Subway Sun?

No adequate objection would seem possible from either of these sources. It is notorious that transit conditions are bad in all the boroughs and steadily growing worse, owing to the scarcity of competent employees.

The public is indifferent to the color of the conductor or motorman, so long as it is carried to its destination with safety and dispatch. The color of the hand that takes the nickel or chops the ticket is immaterial, so long as the increment goes into the company offices. "Step lively!" or "Watch your step!" could be enunciated as urbanely and maybe more musically by guards of another color than those now leaving their jobs. What then is the reason why such service is denied to Negroes?

The same questions apply to other public utilities, such as the telephone system, the gas service, telegraph service and similar work.

The widespread employment of men and women of Negro extraction in the postal service has

demonstrated their capacity and efficiency for public service in other roles than cleaners or porters. There is no sufficient reason why this same class of workers should not be called upon to fill the existing gaps in the local transportation service and other public utilities.

Let President Shonts try the

It may be public so greatly as to make the payment of six cent fares a pleasure.

Sambo Scraps His Banio for a Piano

BOSTON MASS TRANSCRIPT
MAY 4, 1918

The Important, but Amusing, Social
Revolution in the South as New
Billions of Wealth from Cotton
Make the Negro Forget His
Political Rights in the Dig-
nities of His New
Economical
Status

By P. H. Whaley

A TRUE emancipation is always economic. A serf is still a serf if a master controls his stomach, no matter what the statutes may say on the subject. Political independence is a prerequisite, of course, to economic independence, but unless the latter is achieved the former is a barren right incapable of translation into material satisfaction. The commissary on a plantation has very often been a chain quite as strong as any forged by slavery, and the hand that dispenses hog and hominy has never had need of a lash. Indeed, the whip is a driver of limited power in comparison with the larder, the one arousing a spirit of resentment and antagonism and the other friendliness and gratitude.

Thirty-cent cotton is making democracy safe for the negro. It is also making the negro safe for democracy, which is a fact of more importance than most people imagine. There are more triumphs ascribed to German propaganda than kultur ever dreamed of achieving, but either through propaganda or otherwise a sentiment of hostility to national purposes in the present war certainly was largely prevalent among certain classes of negroes, particularly in Virginia and the Border States, up to very recently, and it has not yet been entirely eradicated. A rumor much credited was to the effect that colored soldiers were paid nothing, were given inferior uniforms and would be used in the front line, in positions of extreme peril. All negroes are at heart poets, unless song has been educated out of them, and they seldom harbor resentment, but it was certainly not in the national interest for any large number of them to be misinformed as to the meaning of the existing crisis and to feel that they were not getting a square deal. It is true that thirty-cent cotton has not been a factor of any great importance in the sections

where this anti-war feeling was most general, but it is the Black Belt that eventually dominates negro thought and feeling, and the biggest thing in the Black Belt just now is the high price of cotton.

A Ford or a Vote

A choice between a vote and a Ford offers no Gordian knot to the average agriculturist, white or black. The manager of a popular-priced car recently explained why his Atlanta agency exceeded all others in volume of sales. "So many negroes are driving Fords," he said, "that the white people want something else, and our car is cheap enough for us to cash in on that sentiment." Out in Arkansas there has been some talk of Jim Crow highways. A husky negro could not get delivery on a low-priced car so he walked into the agency that handles a motor costing something more than \$2000. The dealer was not inclined to waste time talking with so unlikely a customer, but when the farmer reached into his pocket and extracted therefrom a roll of yellow bills large enough to plug a torpedo hole, he undertook to do business. The husky took a ten-minute lesson in driving, piled his wife and six children into the car and down the road he went. An hour later the dealer was told over the telephone that the family had escaped with minor bruises, but the car was in the river and it would require a derrick to get it out. The point of the story is not the accident; it is the fact that this negro farmer was able to produce \$2300 in cash and have plenty left after having supported a large family. That he did not know how to spend it is not an alarming symptom, for it was probably the first time he had ever had anything to spend. Nor is it quite fair to speak of him as having supported a large family. More correctly, his large family had supported him, for in the production of cotton no factor is more important than the pickaninny. Many at twelve are good plowmen, if the lands are not too rough, all hoe with facility and they are good pickers for the reason that they can be kept at work. A wife and six children constitute, therefore, a labor asset of very real value, readily transferable into cash, but hitherto for the most part hired out instead of conserved as a family asset. Nor would it be right to assume that the six urchins did not attend school. The colored families that do not capitalize to the full the privileges of the schoolhouse are few and far between, but day for most colored farming families begins at dawn and ends at dark. The hours of school are merely, as it were, the midday siesta.

Show the Negro Something He

Wants and He'll Make Money

The writer is more intimately acquainted with negro life in the low country of South Carolina and Louisiana than elsewhere. His own plantation produces the fine varieties of sea island cotton, the current price of which is 73 cents the pound. In this district the era of the automobile is just beginning, largely because the sewing

machine agent got in ahead of the vehicle manufacturer. The type of cabin has not changed. It is still the rough board house with a clay chimney, but the inside of it is in process of slow evolution. One notes a certain neatness of dress—an outsider would say the reverse was true—and a Sunday tidiness that only the sewing machine could explain. They are the most expensive instruments on the market, too, bought on the instalment plan. Sometimes one is prone to think that the church takes too much of the spare negro cash in the farming regions and doubtless there is much abuse of the generosity of the race, but it is only recently that there was any cash and adjustments in the distribution of it require time. Moreover, the feel of cash in the pocket is a wonderful incentive. A joke has been going the rounds for the past few years about the negro who was asked if he did not want to make a half a dollar and replied that he did not because he already had one. But progress is the achievement of desires. Get the negro to demanding sewing machines and automobiles and phonographs and he must have money. He can get money by working and there is no other way that he can get it, so there is put on him a new appreciation of the dignity of labor and the meaning of it in terms of enjoyment. It is a good thing for a negro family, perhaps, to buy a sewing machine on the instalment plan, even if the price is high and the period of payment long, in normal times. In days like these, of course, it is a transaction of no major importance since the answer to all problems is the high price of cotton.

The purchasing power of money is not what it was and it costs more to produce cotton than it formerly did, but the increase to the negro who plants for himself is less than to anybody else. His chief trouble is the high cost of hominy and "butts." "Butts" is a part of the hog that fancy groceries do not sell. Its normal price is from 4 to 8 cents the pound. It now retails for 30 cents on the plantations. Hominy grits used to sell for something less than a dollar a sack. It now costs about \$6. But when the balance is struck between the high price of cotton and the high price of necessities the scales turn very decidedly in favor of the cotton-producer.

Bigger Acreage, Bigger Returns

It is a commonplace to say that the wages paid by the munition factories and shipbuilding plants have proved so attractive to negroes that wages on the farm have risen to meet the invasion. That is true in special sections, but the lure of factories is not the cause elsewhere. A plowman simply could not exist at the present time on the wages formerly paid and no industry ever puts its wages so low that the laborers cannot keep body and soul together. An increase, therefore, would have been inevitable in any case. But a day wage, reckoned for the year, must, even in the case of ignorant negroes, bear a more or less just relation to what the individual might reasonably expect to get for himself. This is particularly true where the two-day system survives—a

system whereby in exchange for a house and so many acres of land—usually seven—an individual undertakes to give two days of the week to working for the plantation owner and can use the other four as he pleases. Never before has there been such a demand for acreage as there is this year, which means that the negro appreciates the earning power of cotton. To get plowmen, therefore, who will work six days the week for the white man is impossible unless financial inducements are offered, and even these are of little effect unless the particular plowman had a family sufficiently large to take proper care of his own plot, or has no family at all and does not care, therefore, to try planting on his own account. Few of the latter are left when the draft boards get through, although some cases are reported where colored farmers found it easier than did their white neighbors to get excused this summer on account of their vocation. The big fact, of course, is that wages have risen and are unlikely ever to return to their former level. Planters will be found who lament this condition and complain bitterly that no more labor is to be found. It is altogether probable, nevertheless, that the quality of the work parallels the remuneration. In the publicity put out in Pennsylvania relative to the purchase of tractors by the State, it was pointed out that one animal and man could plough on the average not more than three acres a day. That is a minimum task for a good negro plowman, who averages nearer four acres. It depends a good deal on the animal at the head of the plow. The Government has any of the good mules and the cost of the few left is prohibitive in the case of small farmers. Eight hundred dollars will buy a good, but not a fine, pair of mules, in South Carolina. Still, that only five bales of cotton at thirty cents the pound, and five bales of cotton when the price was ten cents the pound could never have bought mules so good. The commodity plane is not against the cotton producer.

Prosperity for Both Races

There will be no Jim Crow highways in the South, since it will require the combined assets of both races to construct even one set of highways worthy of the name. Nor will there be any real demand for Jim Crow highways when the white man finally gets it into his head that prosperity for the negro means prosperity for him. It is a mistake to assume that the negro has purposely been kept down in a commercial way, although it is true that white public opinion has viewed colored poverty without regret. Until recently the white man has been so poor himself that his capacity for helpfulness was distinctly limited. He is learning, however, that it is the community that goes ahead, not simply a class in the community, and so many thousands of prosperous citizens are desirable whatever their color or previous condition of servitude. Nor does the white merchant spend too much of his time trying to prevent a colored brother from voting if that colored brother happens to be a customer who pays cash and buys liberally. Who is used to handling money, be he white or black, acquires a sense of responsibility, and his vote becomes an individual might reasonably expect to get for himself. This is particularly true where the two-day system survives—a

erty qualification of the different State constitutions, and when he can do that it is a mighty difficult thing to prevent him from voting, even if the desire to do so is very marked.

The onswep of democracy induced by the pretensions of Germany has made many men ashamed of the petty prejudices which have heretofore dominated them. It is unfortunate that many people confuse the problem of negro uplift and consider it a movement for what they call "social equality." There is no such thing as social equality even among the whites and there is no village in the whole South so small that some family in it does not consider itself a little too good to mix generally with other families. There has been no proposal to introduce the colored race en masse into the parlors of the whites or to encourage intermarriage. What friends of the negro have demanded is that he be given a fair chance and a square deal and not be hit on the head with a sledge hammer every time he showed a disposition to rise. You cannot sledge-hammer men who are bringing real bales of cotton into market and getting real money for them at the rate of something more than thirty cents the pound. Such persons, whatever their color, are people of substance, people whose friendship it is desirable for merchants to have, people the banks like to deal with. "Cotton are king and I is got it," an ignorant old Alabama planter used to boast before the war. Lincoln is dead but a new Emancipator has arisen to carry on his work. It is thirty-cent cotton, a miracle-worker of the first degree, a conqueror of prejudice and a winner of rights.

Political Rights Forgotten,

Economic Rights Instead

They say now that the "South is coming into its own." It is certainly leaping ahead in prosperity, as are all other sections of the country, but this time the prosperity is not confined to the whites alone. It is universal and general. What the probable political effects will be it is a little difficult to visualize, but certain aspects of the situation are becoming more clear. In general, the factors all appear to be working in favor of a gradual but certain acquisition of political power by the negro, although he will not hold together as a unit and be voted in a herd. He is not very busy, in fact, worrying about his political rights just now, for he has begun to feel the thrill of economic independence and he is going to get his feet firmly planted on the ground before he begins "agitating."

THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION.

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APRIL 6, 1918

The correspondence between President Wilson and Senator Shields, of Tennessee, on the female suffrage question, published this morning, shows that the objection to the proposed amendment to the Constitution is practically limited to the Southern States. The reason for opposing the amendment is not, indeed, explicitly stated by the Senator, but that it grows out of the large colored vote

in the States referred to is not doubtful. Were it not for the unwillingness of the South to confer the ballot on the millions of colored women who are as yet quite unprepared to use it wisely, there would be no more ground for opposition in that section than in any Northern or Western State. Nor is any impartial student of the subject likely to deny that there is considerable force in the objection so presented.

It is obviously one thing to demand that well-informed white women who have become familiar with public affairs, and are in every respect as well educated as men, should be allowed to vote, and quite another thing to contend that commonwealths in which the margin of white strength is not large should add a vast body of illiterate colored women to the voting population. But this, it will be observed is an argument, not against submitting the question to the country, but only against an affirmative vote when it is submitted. It does not follow, the reader will observe, that those who favor the submission of the question to the various States are bound to support the amendment. No more is implied in their action than a recognition of the fact that there is enough in the agitation to warrant a vote which will show whether the necessary three-fourths of the States are in favor of it.

If three-fourths of the States wish to have the amendment adopted, there is no justification in obstructive tactics, but this is not to be inferred from the mere passage of the necessary bill to allow the States to show where they stand. It is from this point of view that the opposition against which the President records himself is without adequate justification. The Southern States are, in other words, on firm ground when they point to the conditions which would make it inadvisable to confer the right on their colored women, but that they can equally justify their refusal to allow the question to be

voted on by the country at large, despite the manifest desire of a majority to have it so submitted, is not discoverable. Whether the passage of the necessary resolution would add to the efficiency of the country for the purposes of the present war is a separate question. The President believes it would, while Senator Shields and his Southern associates think otherwise.

It is unnecessary to discuss this point. It is enough to say that from the broad point of view of the right of a majority of the people to have the question brought to the test of public judgment in the various States, the attitude of the President is clearly in harmony with the spirit of our Government. It would be a very bad thing to have it understood that the Constitution might be so misconstrued by a small minority in either House of Congress as to prevent the American people from making changes in the law which three-fourths of the States desired. Were a wrong of this kind persisted in the result would be revolutionary.

CROSS ROADS.

The forces in this country that for a generation have been working to the obliteration of State lines in all governmental matters, that in one guise and another, under this leader and that, have steadily pressed onward under the stimulus of extreme Western "progressivism," the more radical of the husks of extreme federalism of the old North in the immediately post-bellum days, Socialism, and the people who follow William J. Bryan as an appointed apostle of the Lord's law for the land of the free, have at last shown their hand. The varying, hardly coalesced movements of the past few years, currents of opinion and political thought holding to but one tenet under analysis that "whatever is, is wrong," under the head of the National party, have junked the old Prohibition party, swallowed the nonetheless radical and dangerous even though they are anti-German Socialists, the advanced Feminists and all the rest of the isms and soul-aches that have agitated the modern form of political crusader; and has come out officially and in organization for all the so-called advanced ideas of the day. Our own Bolsheviki have gained enough strength that they may now unite and move for all their ends secure in their strength to fight openly.

This national party, this hybrid brood of Federalists, Prohibitionists through national amendment and advocates of government control and ownership of everything in sight, apparently under some vain hope that with Uncle Sam handling every pot meals will

come to all without working for them, throws the challenge to sane, progressive, sound political thought and conviction everywhere in the nation in these three planks officially adopted at the great meeting in Chicago:

Woman suffrage by national amendment;
Prohibition by national amendment;

Negro suffrage everywhere, full, free and enforced where it does not now practically obtain.

Plenty of other measures and yearns for a woozy millennium politically are thrown in for good measure—but the three just named are the main immediate objects.

This is the most serious menace to the local institutions of the various sections of the United States that has ever been launched against them. It is not backed by irresponsibles or sponsored by weaklings and visionaries in the practical processes by which they will work. William J. Bryan is so closely identified with it that he is regarded as the leader and the man who may be its candidate for President. John Spargo, the genius of American Socialism, the man who, because he cursed out the Kaiser when war was declared while others of his ilk were working for Germany, was pictured and quoted and lauded as the hope of humanity in a dozen nationally famous and at that time universally hysterical periodicals, dominated the great Chicago meeting. And with these two are herded a conglomeration representing every restive, discontented, selfish and soured element in the whole American body politic. It lacks but the support of the Hearstians of the East to make it the long-looked-for "third party," and as most of its plans should suit Hearst he may be expected to soon join them.

There never was a time in this country when men of convictions soundly based on tried and proven political foundations needed more quickly and vehemently to arouse themselves than now. The discontent of Europe, brought over by immigrant hordes quickly made into voters, the narrowness of vision suffered by those older and more thickly settled portions of the country where small town life has developed a restiveness born of sociological conditions seeking a political vent of some kind, the wild-and-woolliness of the West—these elements have united. They would seize on war expedients to wipe out the Union which is the Republic and set up in its place a great federalized, centrally ruled and held empire of an explosive one-ness, lacking only an actual hereditary emperor to make of it as absolute and intolerably formed an autocracy as Germany itself. The greatness that is America, built as it is on the system of government, as only it could be, on the foundations laid by the master statesmen who with more vision than might have come from purely earthly processes laid down the form under which the American commonwealths might find their destiny, has never impressed the Bryans and the general federalist dreamers, the Socialists, and half-baked radicals generally as a vindication and exemplar of the ideal system of government under which the country grew and prospered, but only as a

greatness to be used as a vast culture ground in which every doubtful serum they might fashion might be tested out.

Against this sort of thing the South, the traditional home of statesmen and statecraft, has stood like a rock until the last half dozen years. The menace of any yielding on the part of the stable political entity beneath the "Line" has been lost sight of to a large extent by men who have been finding their way to Congress in recent years and by the teachers who have set themselves up in the byways and quiet places to confuse so-called moral issues with profound political and statesmanic verities. Men were found to, within two weeks, vote for one revolutionary national amendment on the basis that it was a moral issue and against another because it was infringement on the rights of the States. Among them were eleven Georgia Congressmen.

Morals have nothing to do with it. The problems of this land today, for voters and representatives of voters to consider are purely political and of unprecedented importance. We are coming to the cross roads where we must definitely decide whether we shall remain a republic of sovereign American commonwealths such as have made the greatest force and power in the world within a hundred years, the beacon and hope of a world, or whether we shall become a dynasty in fact and travel the road of complete and helpless centralization and unionization that led the German confederacy, once proud and useful and worthy principalities joined only where their interests were communal, along a path that not only will break up the whole empire but will make the very name German anathema for as long as it took our own system of government to build the world's one civilization of hope. The fight is here, it is right on us. They seek to use the war as the funnel through which to pour the States and the sections with their varying local problems and needs and certain destinies within themselves into a vast vat for a pot-pourri that cannot but blow up of its own irreconcilable elements.

The call of the South and the wisdom, statesmanship and foresight of the older and more stable East. The menace to us is vaster and more terrible than to any other section for with the two radical amendments to the Constitution, the two that if ratified will leave the States no more of their sovereignty or freedom of action than a militia district or city ward is coupled that ever-present terror to all of us—the voting negro.

The National party is formed to hurry through the two amendments, because with them we shall have gone so far along the path of State obliteration there will be no turning back, and with them they come at once and eagerly with the pledge to vote the negro in the ballot boxes of Dixie. Given that they are supreme. Given that and Bryan can be made President, given that and we will have black representatives in the once proud seats of our national Congress and contesting dangerously in the general elections the very judgeships and State House seats that are our dearest boast and final safeguards.

The destiny of the nation rests with the

South today, with the General Assemblies to repudiate all amendments to the Constitution, for with them obstinate the Constitution stands and with it standing safely we can still be the South, the white man's country—but not without it. We can call to the nation, we can stop this rapid march of a radicalism and federalism that would tear down our local civilization and wipe off its traditions for the dumping of all into a brew of Marxian philosophy and the insanity of Trotsky and Lenin. And that way lies dissolution and chaos—a nation in shard.

Is The South Satisfied With Its Civilization?

Editor The Advertiser: 4-26-18

I write you last week of William Loyd Garrison and quoted Colonel Herbert to the effect that he was a good man. And he was. He breathed goodness and great greatness. His works are full of the noblest and kindest thoughts. But he hated slavery and professed to love the slaveholder. He was a past master in the art of denunciation and showed his love by denouncing not only slavery but all slaveholders. And the slaveholders could not distinguish between such wholesale denunciation and the most perfect hatred. Consequently the more he uttered, the more set they became in their ways. That is the story as told by Colonel Herbert in the "Abolition Crusade."

Not an unusual character. Look back to the time of the discovery of America, 1492. You will find Torquemada, the head of the Inquisition in Spain. He loved the heretic and hatred heresy. If the accused would not recant, he was burned for his sin. If he recanted, he was immediately sent to the fagots; his body burned on earth that his soul might not burn in hell.

The poems of Tennyson are always close to the reader. Just pick up the volume and see the story told of the burning of Archbishop Cranmer by Bloody Mary in 1556 and read the scene. The poet has here caught to perfection the spirit of the inquisitor. He shows what became of the heretic who was loved.

Garrison Ignored Politics.

But one thing we can say for Garrison. He never asked the State to interfere with slavery by force or law. He wished to induce the slaveholder to free his slaves of his own accord and upon moral suasion. For this reason he stayed apart from politics; only voting once in his lifetime. The gentleness of his life could never have brought him to the position of Torquemada; he had nothing of the persecutor or the prosecutor in him. His success might have been earlier and greater, had he not depended so greatly upon his power of denunciation. At any rate we can now say "Peace to his ashes."

But the crusade begins again. I take the following from the Crisis, published in the City of Washington:

"Moorefield Storey, President; Archibald H. Grimke, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Bishop John Hurst, John E. Milholland, Mary White Ovington, Oswald Garrison Villard, Vice-Presidents.

Executive Officers: Dr. J. E. Spingarn, chairman of board; Oswald Garrison Villard, treasurer; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, director of publications and research; Roy Nash, secretary; James Weldon Johnson, field secretary.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.

Directors: Jane Addams, Dr. C. E. Bentley, Chicago; Joseph Prince Loud, Butler R. Wilson, Boston; Bishop John Hurst, Dr. F. N. Cardozo, Balti-

more; Rev. G. R. Waller, Springfield, Mass.; Professor George William Cook, Washington; Dr. V. Morton Jones, Dr. O. M. Waller, Brooklyn; George W. Crawford, New Haven; Dr. William A. Sinclair, Philadelphia; Rev. Hutchins C. Bishop, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Paul Kennaday, Charles Edward Russell, Arthur B. Spingarn, Charles H. Studin, Dr. John G. Underhill, Lillian D. Wald, William English Walling, New York.

The fight for 1917 is to be against "Disfranchisement and Jim Crow Cars." If this is your fight, join and support us.

In the above list is the name of Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard. He is the grandson of William Loyd Garrison. He is gentler than his grandfather and does not indulge in denunciation. He also believes in moral suasion; but does not wish to enforce his belief by word or act of force. None the less does he desire to abolish the peculiar things that the South deems it necessary to adopt for the safety of its civilization.

The Issue for the South.

Two of these things are the separation of the negroes and the whites in public conveyances and in public places of entertainment. Another is the continued disfranchisement of the negro race.

Are you willing to give up these things? It may be best so to do. Evidently the above gentlemen think they should be surrendered. Do you? I have already written of Mr. Garrison, of whom I know. Let us consider some of the others.

Mr. Storey is one of the ablest lawyers in the world. DuBois is a mulatto who used to reside in Atlanta. He is a man of great ability, great courage, great insistence. I have known of him for thirty years. Both as a teacher and writer, I have never heard anything against his character. Jane Addams is a white lady of high powers and the highest character; she is busily and worthily engaged in the uplift of Chicago; she believes in female suffrage as the redemption motif in the world; she was that nominated Roosevelt for the presidency; she confesses the difficulty of the uplift of white and black in the city in which she works. That is very visible in her book on the "New Conscience and the Ancient Evil." Read it. The reformer knows how hard the work is at home; but thinks it so easy away from home. Indeed all of us are prone to mistake access of age for increase in virtue; indeed if the reformer tried half as hard to reform himself as he does to reform the other fellow things in this world would go better.

I go back to the names. The only other one that I know of is Charles E. Russell, a white man; he is a socialist; which is sufficient to say that he thinks the South is wrong in her treatment of the negro. For argument I am willing to concede the position. But what else can we do?

How We Won Before.

Up to the close of the civil war the South

insisted that the negro was her problem and that the North could not settle it for her; that she should be left to settle it in her own way. For that right the great war was fought.

The North insisted upon settling it in her own way. Then followed the war. Then abolition. Then reconstruction. After trying all these things out to their ultimate conclusion the North came to the conclusion that the South was right; the troops were withdrawn in 1877 by President Hayes and the South was left to herself. She had won by peace what she had lost by war—the control of her own affairs, the control of the negro question. Is she ready now to surrender these things?

The above program shows the threat that is made. Thus it starts. No bigger than the hand of a man. If we do not now stop it we know not to what extent it will go. We may be rest assured that it will go as far as fanaticism can carry it. Read the program again.

In the eighth clause of the first article of the Constitution the fathers wrote as follows:

"The congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States."

The Danger Point.

The italics are mine and I intended to emphasize those words. They are the words that have enabled organized government to commit all sorts of crimes against the Constitution and the fathers. They are the fruitful grounds of the loose construction that brought about first the protective tariff and then its lineal successor, the prohibitive tariff. They have justified the congress in doing anything that it might desire to do. All was hid behind the general phrase that left the matter to the discretion of congress and thus prevented the courts from taking control of the matter. These words have the fruitful cause of evil in the government of the nation.

Watch then that word "appropriate"—that is, the amendment that is before the people for rejection. It was used to adopt and maintain reconstruction. Let us control its use now. Let us lay the axe now to the root of the evil; for in the night of adoption we cannot cut down this tree whose name is "appropriate" and whose fruit can be only evil.

Space forbids more at present; in a later paper I hope to recur to the other things advocated by the Crisis and to show the people the danger that lurks in the measure that is before them for rejection.

Reject now; for the night may come in which no man can reject. Know now the wisdom of the fathers and the crib of the Constitution in which they stored up the things upon which the liberty and union, truth and justice, religion and piety, peace and happiness might be nurtured for all generations. Let the people know; let them consider.

W. H. TAYLOR.

Uniontown, Alabama.

OPPOSES OPPRESSION
BY THE SOUTH

(Written for The Richmond Planet by Joseph C. Manning.)

It has been announced that the National Republican Committee will meet January 10th in Chicago "to go over the situation" with the object in view of strengthening the Party in the United States. Just here let me express the opinion that justice for all Americans in America must be obtained in the United States, not in France, and the place to do effective work is at the Chicago "peace table," January 10th.

There and then is the time and the place to notify the Republican organization that it must stand for Constitutional liberty, and against the methods of political repression by the Southern autocracy or go out of business as a party of human justice and ballot rights.

This hiking away to France is going to do no good whatever, so far as involves the overthrow of the system of minority rule in the South. All of this "race issue" stuff only serves to stand in the way of the whole truth having a hearing; that whole truth being that the condition in the South is one of lynched ballot rights and not a "race issue" at all.

When the Northern Democracy was stuffing ballot boxes in the black belt, to get majorities to overcome opposition of whites and to maintain minority rule over whites as well as blacks, there were those who referred to this condition as one of "counting out the Negro." This was not truth. This did not state the whole fact but so-called colored leaders helped ballot box stuffing Democrats confuse the mind of the North by so stating the condition and helping the make-believe "race issue" along.

This failure to comprehend, to understand, to properly state the issue has done untold harm to the cause of liberty in the South. Just so it is now that colored leaders, so-called, talk about "Negro disfranchisement in the South"—when they ought to know that it is a condition of political jugglery whereby a minority of whites dominate the repressed white as well as the repressed black South.

Why keep up this "race issue" stuff and keep on misrepresenting the facts as merely a case of "Negro disfranchisement"? It is such as this that stands in the way of the appearance of truth, that is essential to causing the nation to settle this condition right. It is exasperating to see all of this bosh going on unchecked and the hour is here to stop it. The cause of Constitutional government for the South is the issue.

We have had the "let the

alone" nonsense. We have had this misunderstanding of the facts. We have this "race issue" buncombe. It is time now to face the truth. Colored Americans gulped down the Booker T. Washington buncombe. They now—many of them—howl over an organization, an association offered by Wilson Democrats and with a few prominent Socialists, who support Wilson, as among the prim movers. Telegrams are sent to Southern officials "protesting" lynching. Reminds me of the Wilson telegram to Mexico and Germany.

Voting to keep the South in the saddle autocracy in power and "protesting" its doings! The only way to stop these wrongs in the South is to end the rule of the autocracy in the South and restore ballot rights so that the people can put those in office who will safeguard their life and property. "Protesting" until hell freezes over will not stop lynching. It did not stop slavery. Those who opposed slavery voted the way they protested; they, also, shot as they voted.

When will Colored Americans exercise the common sense to quit this foolishness and rise to the real issue and bring forth the Douglass type of leadership? When will Colored Americans have the common sense to quit "protesting" results of a fundamental wrong and have the plain judgment to use their brains and means in improving the system which breeds the wrongs? Why take a bow and arrow and shoot at the mosquito? Why not dry up the pond that breeds them?

I have a contempt for the Southern democracy for its distortion of the situation. I am beginning to feel an equal contempt for those so-called Colored leaders, who work their side of the street with the "race issue" game, just as Southern Democrats work the other side of the street. When I know how it has impeded the progress of truth and prolonged injustice, I feel like throwing decayed cabbage at the mouths of these blatherskites and time-servers. I propose plain spoken treatment of the situation and these triflers with truth and justice deserve treatment as harsh as their course has brought to others.

JOSEPH C. MANNING,
204 West Fourteenth Street,
New York City.

December 27, 1918.

LET US BE FRANK ABOUT IT.
WACO TEX HERALD

"The Public: A Journal of Democracy," is printed in New York City. Its definition or interpretation of "Democracy" we do not know, nor is it essential to this consideration. Some one has been kind enough to send us a copy of the issue of April 8 last, wherein is a discussion by Joseph C. Allen of the pending amendments to the Federal Constitution. This is our first introduction to that gentleman, and we couldn't so much as tell you where he lives or what is

his occupation. Mr. Allen enters upon a specific discussion of the two proposed amendments, that relating to prohibition of the liquor traffic and that relating to women's suffrage. He holds prohibition to be "a matter of policy, and should be dealt with by legislation, rather than by specific amendment" to the Constitution. And here is what he has to say concerning the proposed suffrage amendment:

"The women's suffrage amendment is of a different nature, and is free of the objections that have been urged against the former measure. But unfortunately it would have to be read, in connection with our Fifteenth amendment, as bestowing the suffrage, without discrimination, on Negro as well as white women of the South. Those States where the Fifteenth amendment is now practically nullified, would certainly nullify the women's suffrage amendment in its relation to the Negro vote. And if we do not mean to prevent those States from nullifying this amendment, it is hypocrisy to adopt it. If, then, we would secure women's suffrage in an honest way, and without still further complicating our racial problems, we should first of all repeal the Fifteenth amendment, with the similar clause of the Fourteenth. If, while doing this, we at the same time gave Congress ample powers to protect the rights of Negroes and deal generally with the relations of the races, our colored people would be better off than they are now and with better prospects. That clause of the Fourteenth amendment should also be repealed, which forbids States to abridge the rights of any citizens. And Congress should be given the power to define and enforce the rights of citizens. In this way the rights of colored men would be put under the protection of Congress. And finally, Congress should be given the power to determine 'the qualifications requisite for electors.' This would put the matter of the Negro within the authority of our national legislature. But it would do more than that. It would enable Congress to establish women's suffrage throughout the nation by statute, instead of having it by a specific amendment."

It will be noted that Mr. Allen assumes the right of the National Legislature to deal with these questions. He takes no note of State rights; these he snuffs out as he would a lighted candle. He disputes in toto, by ignoring it altogether, the century-old contention of the Democratic party that suffrage belongs exclusively to the individual State, a contention sustained by practice. It has never occurred to us here in Texas—at least, not until right recently,—that we have aught to do with the voting in Rhode Island or in Cali-

fornia. But Mr. Allen sees it differently; he would bring the whole question "within the authority of our National Legislature." In fact, that seems to be his contention as to both propositions, only he would so change the Constitution as to suffrage as to give Congress "the power to define and enforce the rights of citizens." And his conclusion is correct if we admit his premise. But his premise is wrong unless we have deliberately decided to change the character of our institutions. It is competent for the people to make the change, and, it must be confessed, the tendency is in that direction. But no man among us will deny that in doing so—in making this momentous change, the people will be breaking with all that has gone before—let us at least realize that. Here is what Elihu Root, a distinguished member of the Republican party, has to say about the matter:

"This country is so vast, the difference in climate, in physical characteristics, in capacity for production, in predominant industries and in the resultant habits of living and thinking, are so great that there are necessarily wide differences of view as to the conduct of life; and to subject any section of the country in its local affairs to the dictation of the vast multitude of voters living in other parts of the country, would create a condition of intolerable tyranny; and to use the power of the nation to bring about the conditions would be to make the nation an instrument of tyranny. It is needless to argue that this would ultimately destroy the nation. It is the free adjustment of the separate parts of our country, the unchecked opportunity of each community to live in its own home, according to its own opinions and wishes, that has made it possible for us to unite in maintaining the power of the nation for all national purposes."

Senator Borah of Idaho, often mentioned in connection with the Republican nomination for the Presidency, has this to say:

"We are not a homogeneous people yet by any means. The interests of the States are diverse. What suits Idaho may be offensive to Georgia. . . . And it is necessary to preserve certain principles—a representative republic and local government for the State. State self-government is necessary to the preservation of the States and the States are necessary to preserve this Union. The cornerstone of the very fabric of our system is the right of local self-government as to who shall vote in a State, or who shall own property and lands, or attend schools. The right to vote under our system of government should never be other than a local question, for upon it rests the integrity and sovereignty

of the State. Under no circumstances, and for no purposes should we ever nationalize the State."

John Randolph Tucker, a distinguished citizen of Virginia, had this to say:

"Without the continuing existence of the States and State governments de facto and de jure, the Federal government itself would cease to be. Suppose there were no State legislatures; how could the Constitution be amended? If each State as a people ceased to exist, how could the amendments be ratified by a convention of the people of that State? If the States in their full autonomy as independent bodies politic are pulled down, the Federal Samson would be destroyed amid their ruins."

Here is what Ben Hill of Georgia had to say:

"Let it be written upon every forehead that he is truest to the Union who is most faithful to the States; a Union without States is a country without freemen."

These are not isolated remarks, but are representative of the best thought of America for more than a century. Now comes a new school—a school that goes far beyond anything ever proposed by Alexander Hamilton, who thus remarked:

"The State governments are essentially necessary to the form and spirit of the general system. With the representative system a very extensive country may be governed by a confederacy of States in which the supreme legislature has only general powers, and the civic and domestic concerns of the people are regulated by the laws of the several States."

Mr. Joseph C. Allen seems to be a spokesman for the new school; what he proposes is revolutionary in the extreme. But there seems to be little or no protest; we shall presently, as matters are now going, wake up and find ourselves in a new world, politically speaking, the Congress having the power to define and enforce the rights of citizens, as urged by Mr. Allen, and so will have passed away the political system described by that great man of the South, Dr. J. L. M. Curry, as follows:

"The preservation of the States and the maintenance of their governments are as much within the care and design of the Constitution as the preservation of the Union and the maintenance of the National Government. (See 7 Wallace, 700, 775.) But for States the Union would perish from paralysis of its limbs. The United States is sovereign as to all matters delegated to it by the Constitution; it is without any sovereignty, jurisdiction, power or function as to all matters not placed within its power by the Constitution. The topics which lie outside of national legislation greatly exceed the number to

which the power of State legislation does not extend. State power and jurisdiction embraces the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward, master and servant, and can arrest, imprison, try, condemn and execute citizens of the United States infringing State laws. The people of each State compose a State, having its own government."

Root, Borah, Tucker, Ben Hill, Curry, Hamilton—these belong, in the language of Hugh Nugent Fitzgerald, to a tallow-dip civilization; the electric light and the telephone and the automobile and the flying machine have so changed the face of the earth that we must bring the Government up to the new order of things—that is the argument being made; and one, you know, might as well be out of the world as to be out of the fashion of the world. But let us be frank about it; let us acknowledge that a great and momentous change is being wrought—that's all.

PIRKASIE PA CENTRAL NEWS
JANUARY 23, 1919

Inconsistency of the South
The Southern Democrats are upon record as insistent sticklers for State's rights—inviolable, now, henceforth, and forever. In harmony with their idea of the rights of the several States under the Federal Constitution they have arbitrarily chosen to deprive a large proportion of Southern negroes the right to exercise the elective franchise granted them by the Fourteenth Amendment. The Southern Democrats claim to have sufficient reason for refusing negroes the right to vote; all the while taking advantage of the negro population in increasing memberships in Congress, which enables them to help fasten objectionable measures upon other States. Prohibition is one of their favorite hobbies. They contend that they will be able to better manage and control the negroes if the latter are deprived of strong drink, a statement which is probably true. If they also can and will get (?) along without whiskey and other intoxicating beverages, they will be at least consistent Prohibitionists. However, it appears that the Southern Democrats are now mostly for States' rights when it just happens to suit them. A majority of these members of Congress last week voted Against the resolution favoring the adoption of an equal suffrage amendment to the Constitution. It is presumed their argument is that equal suffrage is a question for each State to settle itself. The South wants national prohibition because the South does not want woman suffrage and therefore does not wish woman suffrage to become a national affair, because it might involve the South. The Southern Democrats seem to know what they want and how to play the role of palpable inconsistency in trying to get what they want; while practically treating the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution as null and void.

Suffrage

DONOVAN PLEDGES RACE SQUARE DEAL AT MORTON DINNER

The New York News

DUBOIS, MULQUEEN, BENNETT, LEWIS AND ANDERSON MAKE PLEA FOR MILITANT DEMOCRACY AT HOME

March 2, 1918.

Grand Testimonial Non-Partisan Banquet Tendered Stewart Young Assistant District Attorney in Charge of Grand Jury Work—Stewart Sounds Keynote

New York, March 21.—The most notable banquet that has been tendered a colored public official in the last decade in this country was that given Assistant District Attorney F. Q. Morton on last Friday evening at beautiful Terrace Garden by more than three hundred colored and white friends of the militant young Democratic leader. Not only were many of the most prominent colored men of the East present, but nearly two score prominent Caucasians of the greater city. Congressman Donovan made a special trip from Washington to be present as did attorneys Benj. L. Gaskins, Thos. L. Becket, Dr. William Howard and others. From Boston came William H. Lewis, William C. Matthews, Jules Westmoreland and E. C. Cutting.

Nearly a score of the District Attorneys office and many Hall political leaders were present, and among the most hearty and loud in their acclaim of Chief Morton.

Stewart Sounds Banquet Keynote.

Dr. Wm. E. D. Dubois was the distinguished toastmaster and introduced Gilchrist Stewart, secretary of the Banquet Committee, who in a brief but eloquent address sounded the keynote for the speeches of the evening. He declared that the colored citizens of the country wanted not only to help carry Democracy across the Rhine, but as well down the Mississippi. Judge Joseph F. Mulqueen said

that the letter of regret of Judge Otto Rosalsky expressed the opinion of the court on Mr. Morton. At the end of his address Judge Mulqueen was given an ovation. Treasurer John E. Nair read letters of regret from many distinguished men including Ed. J. Morton, father of the guest of honor, Judge Robt H. Terrell and District Attorney Swann. Congressman Donovan, Asst. Corporation Counsel James D. Carr, Hon. William H. Lewis, Hon. Charles W. Anderson and Hon. William M. Bennett all paid high and eloquent tribute to the guest of honor who made a masterful response in an address that was a gem of logic and racial appeal. Next to this feature of the banquet the following letter of Judge Rosalsky was most loudly applauded:

Fearless, Upright, Conscientious.

My dear Mr. Stewart:

My sister underwent a critical operation this afternoon and I am in such state of distress that I must beg you to excuse from attending the dinner this evening given in honor of Assistant District Attorney Ferdinand Q. Morton. If it were not for this unfortunate event, I assure you that it would have afforded me much pleasure to publicly express the very high esteem that I entertain for the distinguished guest of honor.

I have known Mr. Morton for a great

many years and have had large opportunity to observe his career, both as a lawyer and as a public prosecutor. I regard him as a man of high moral worth and a conscientious, fearless and upright Assistant District Attorney who always conducts his cases with zeal, industry and candor so as to merit not alone the confidence and respect of the Judges, but also

COLORED VOTERS KNOW DUTY IN THIS ELECTION

MORE AT STAKE FOR THE RACE THAN FOR YEARS

INDIANAPOLIS (IND) NEWS
NOVEMBER 1, 1918
UNITED EFFORT ESSENTIAL

[By Frances Berry Costan]

It is wholly unnecessary to appeal to the colored voters of this city to support the Republican ticket at the coming election. Figures show that the number of negroes in Indianapolis who vote the Democratic ticket is no negligible as to make any consideration unnecessary. A few days ago an appeal for the support of any party would have seemed out of keeping with the spirit of Americanism that possesses the minds of all who make the winning of the war the paramount issue of the moment, to which all consideration of personal gain or partisanship should be subsidiary, but recent happenings less surprising than uncalled for, make it essential for voters of the Republican ticket to unite their strength as never before. The war has been successful largely through the efforts of Republican congressmen who have unhesitatingly supported the war measures of the administration, and it would seem unwise at this critical time for the nation to "swap horses amid stream."

But this is what will happen if the Republicans in this country fail to arouse themselves. At a time when the minds of the people in general are busy with the big problems to be worked out, there is great danger that some of the duties nearer home are going to be overlooked, and it is well worth while to urge the colored voters not to neglect the sacred obligation of casting their ballot at the coming election.

Voters Are Awake.

A recent statement in The Indianapolis News called attention to the splendid registration in what is known as the colored wards of this city, regardless of the fact that more than 2,000 colored registrants have been called from Indianapolis, most of whom would have voted the Republican ticket. This showing seems to be due to two forces. In the first place, colored men in a position to know say that organization work in registration has been more carefully worked out than in previous years. In the second place, the colored citizens are not unaware that these colored voters are out of the city, many already in France, and they know that they must assert their whole strength to make up in a way for this loss. They say that it would be extremely difficult to find a colored voter who has not properly registered for the election. This being true, it now remains for them to see to it that they find their way to the polls on election day, November 5. If they do this the Republican candidates need have no

worry as to how they will cast their ballots.

The colored citizens of Indianapolis and the nation need men like Merrill Moores in the congress. When the war is won and the nation is to be reconstructed, it is to be hoped that such measures will provide equally for all who have helped to win the war, and inexperienced narrow-minded men, obsessed with race prejudice are incapable of rendering this high service.

400,000 in Service.

The official bulletin issued recently from the office of Emmett J. Scott, special assistant to the war department, says 400,000 colored soldiers are now in military service. Approximately 200,000 of this number are in France, where their record is unquestioned, by any nationality. Black soldiers, too, sleep in Flanders field "where the poppies blow between the crosses." They have gone possessed with the feeling that if they gave a good account of themselves, it would be better for the colored people when they come back home. They have gone away courageously in this faith, willing if necessary to make the supreme sacrifice for the ideals of democracy, and surely those who have remained behind can not afford to "break faith with those who die," by any failure on their part to exercise the right of casting their ballot for public officials who will look after the national interest of the 12,000,000 negroes in this country, and for men who will see to it that the mothers and fathers and families of the men, now dying on foreign soil, have the rights of other races here at home. There are problems to be straightened out here at home and the only way to attempt a solution of these problems is through the right of suffrage.

There was a time in the political history of the colored people of this city when it did not matter essentially whether the colored man cast his vote at the election or not. There have been times when the colored men looked on with more or less unconcern, while hundreds of their numbers were illegally kept away from the polls on election day through flagrant corrupt practices in this city. It didn't matter so much, since the negro was going to get very little out of it anyhow.

Serious Questions.

That day is happily past, it is to be hoped forever. It is not a question of what the negro is going to get out of the election of good men in this city, but what opportunities for betterment the whole race will gain through their united efforts. Realizing that the only hope for proper recognition would come through political cohesion, the negro voters some time ago rallied their forces, and with the Republican party divided, were able to help elect a Republican mayor and a colored councilman. They have seen the results of their labors for concentrated effort, and they surely need now, as never before, to work with the same intense interest to see to it that men unfitted for public office shall not obtain office through the negligence of the negroes in casting their ballots.

The United States has entered the war to wipe out forever the lawlessness of

Continued on Page Fifteen.

THE NEW YORK WORLD AND THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION.

Atlanta Constitution
One, a leading Democratic newspaper of the North, and largely a mouthpiece of the administration, and the other the leading Democratic Southern newspaper, and equally a mouthpiece of the Democratic administration at Washington. These two papers *debate* about two democracy, or the democracy that the president is fighting to preserve for humanity.

The New York World takes the position that the South's representation in Congress were fraudulent, because it is based upon a people who have no voice in the selection of their representatives; that the South, by first one subterfuge or the other, has deprived twelve million people of their votes, and in doing so, has not only wronged twelve million citizens and obtained thereby artificial representation in Congress, but that in so doing, have placed themselves in a position where Southern states could divest Northern states of home rule; that is to say, that Georgia, Louisiana, Texas and other Democratic commonwealths could inflict federal amendments to the constitution through their legislatures that would impose hardships and burdens upon Northern states that they would not be able to do if it were not that they take from millions of free men their votes.

The World illustrated the unfairness and dishonesty of the South's representation in Congress by referring to the prohibition amendment recently submitted by Congress to the states for ratification. It was shown by our esteemed contemporary that in the Southern states, if Negroes were permitted to vote, that the amendment would not be ratified, and if Negroes had representation in Congress, according to their population, the amendment and many other nefarious schemes that Southern legislatures have inflicted upon black folk under the cry of "No Force Bill! No Negro Domination!" would not obtain today.

There is absolutely no virtue in the plea that prohibition will obtain because the Negro is disfranchised. The Negro is just about as temperate as the white man, and the white man is just about as intemperate as the Negro. One drinks just about as much whiskey as the other. Both drink about all they can get hold of, and The Constitution's effort to answer the New York World by hiding behind the prohibition amendment is little less than begging the question.

Admitting all that the Constitution says to be true, the fact remains unchanged that the Negro is disfranchised.

chised in the South, is intimidated, ciples are made safe for the world. molested and politically persecuted We have fought in wars for the until he is afraid so much of bodily liberty of white men all our lives, but harm that he does not undertake to we are fighting in this war for a enjoy his constitutional rights; and share in the world's democracy. The the truth remains that if the provi-New York World has put it square up sion of the fourteenth amendment to The Constitution, and The Consti- were in force, the South would be tution's answer is a side-step of the hopelessly in the minority in Con- issue. gress.

Prohibition, with all of its virtue and sobriety, does not mean as much to the Negro race as his manhood rights; the right to cast his vote, and to have their votes honestly counted and recorded is worth more to race, in self-protection and self-servation than all the damage the whiskey can do the race.

The Independent is prohibition. It believes in the suppression of the whiskey traffic, but not at the expense of every other right of the race. We publish in another column this week the controversy between the two dailies.

Democracy, as practiced by the Democratic party is not true Democracy; is not the Democracy that President Wilson is fighting the Kaiser for. A democracy means a government where all the people have a voice, and that none of the people are governed except by their consent. It is a government where the government gets all of its authority from those who are governed, and any government that is destructive of these just ends, is not a democracy. Not a single state in the South where the Negro is disfranchised and not allowed to vote in every election for every officer who is to serve him, is void of a democratic government, and nobody knows this better than The Atlanta Constitution.

Our city government is not a function of democracy, neither is our state government, a democracy. The government at Washington is not a democracy, for the reason that twelve million people are governed in the city, in the state and at Washington without their consent; taxed without representation; ruled without a voice in the governing body. On the other hand, they are brow-beaten, molested, intimidated and made to feel that they are aliens, and have no part in the government.

The world war is being waged to make democracy safe for the world. Charity, with us, begins at home, and the Negro is fighting for a share in the world's democracy. He is loyal to the flag and to the administration at Washington, and believes that if he is fit to fight for the liberty and freedom of the world, he is fit to have a part in the liberty and freedom of the world, when these cardinal prin-

Political - 1918

Suffrage

Negro Socialists

N.Y.C. CALL
SEPTEMBER 23, 1918 From the Crusader Magazine.

For the first time in the history of politics in this state a political party has of its own free will chosen three Negroes to represent it before the people. This party is the Socialist party. Its action stands in sharp contrast to the pleading and fighting that was necessary before Johnson was given a chance to represent his race in the New York Assembly. And in the case of a Negro running for Congress, not even the long loyalty of the mass of Negro voters to the Republican party could influence that party to give Ransom and his race a square deal in the last congressional elections. Now the Socialist party not only offers two seats in the New York Assembly, but a seat in Congress as well.

Now, while this magazine is neither pro-Socialist, pro-Republican, nor, least of all, pro-Democratic, it is distinctly pro-Negro! The party that gives the Negro a square deal is the party that the Crusader Magazine is going to support. When the Republicans give the Negro a square deal we will back the Republican horse. When Tammany throws overboard its graft-bund (we are for good government!) and gives a square deal to the Negro, Tammany we will support. When the national Democratic party can change its spots and eject the South from the saddle and give the Negro a square deal, we will support the national Democratic party. And when the Socialist party, as now shows a disposition of cooperating with and rewarding its Negro members, the Socialist party we will support. We are pro-Negro through and through!

And now, a word to the three Negro candidates on the Socialist ticket. Every live Negro knows where Dr. George Frazier Miller is, and what he stands for. We have long listened in admiration to his thunderous voice uplifted in an uncompromising demand for Negro rights. We know the man. We admire his character and his principles. We thrill at his courage. We trust absolutely in his integrity. A better man to represent us in Congress it would be difficult to find. He is today undoubtedly the most fearless and upright leader of the Negro race in America. While coward and traitor leaders have been falling like ninepins, surrendering and selling the race they claim to lead, Dr. Miller has stood forth the same outspoken gentleman in these days when it takes courage to be a radical as in the days before the war, when the radical group still held the such men as Dr. DuBois and Kelly-Miller. Such is the man chosen by the Socialist party to run for Congress in the 21st congressional district. Surely every Negro of that district will rally to his support.

The two gentlemen chosen for the state Assembly by this same party are A. Philip Randolph, in the 19th

district, and Chandle Owens, in the 21st Assembly district. Both of these men, like Dr. Miller, are possessed of a high courage and intelligence. All three are types of the new leaders who lead by virtue of their popularity with the race, and not by virtue of the white man's favor. They serve but one master but one race. Every Negro who is pro-Negro before he is anything else will vote for these colored men. And as one good turn deserves another, we advocate the support by the race of the entire Socialist ticket. Of course, you will be handed that political buncombe that you will be throwing away your vote. Well, then, throw it away! Is it not better to throw it away on a party who recognizes you and on candidates of your own than to throw it away on an ungrateful party and on white candidates who never represent you?

gated to the background by national legislation. The long and tedious struggle of Lamar, George and Stone, to put Mississippi where her white sons might control her elections was to have been in vain.

Senator Williams offered a resolution providing equal suffrage for all white women; this amendment was decisively tabled. Senator Fletcher of Florida offered an amendment providing that each state should have a free hand to control the franchise; this amendment was also defeated.

Thank God for His!

The bill as it was finally voted on provided, in substance, that the negro women of Mississippi were to be given the right to vote, in line with such qualifications as would be prescribed by the United States senate. Senator Williams voted against the bill, and as a loyal American, and a devoted Mississippian, I thank God that he had foresight and strength, not only to represent his people and his own conscience, but to present a much misrepresented question in a clearer light.

Is it not strange that Senator Vardaman, that vanguard of white supremacy, that men of all men who has preached undying devotion to white suffrage, who stands for the repeal of the 14th and modification of the 15th amendments, should have laid bare the innermost vitals of his state by voting to allow a Senate, who does not understand and never can understand our local conditions, to prescribe such regulations "as it sees fit" to govern the vote of negro women in Mississippi.

It is the duty of every Mississippian to see that no insidious propaganda shall emanate from a misunderstanding of the motives that prompted Senator Williams in voting against a measure supported by President Wilson. We all love, revere, and honor the name of Woodrow Wilson, but in this particular instance, to agree with him, would be to forsake the best interest of the people of Mississippi.

Suffrage is coming—it is sure to come; but let it come as a state matter, let us, the people of Mississippi who understand our own troubles and our local conditions, decide what shall be the qualifications to become an elector in the sovereign state of Mississippi. Surely we are true sons of the Democracy—surely we believe in the Rights of the State in this matter.

Let us long meditate on the closing words of Senator Williams, in his address to the United States Senate:

"There is just one thing I love better than democracy, just one thing that I love better than the United States, just one thing that I love better than myself or my wife or my children. It is to secure the supremacy of the white race everywhere, especially in my own native state."

WILLIARD T. BROOKE,
Chief Yeoman.

Editor's Note—Mr. Brooke's home in Meridian, where he is a member of a well-known family.

THINLY-CLAD NEGRO WOMEN DANCERS DELIGHT VAREITES

Ike Deutsch, Added Performer, Urges Defeat of Penrose Men in

Third, Fourth and Fifth Wards

PHILA PA NORTH AMERICAN
MARCH 15, 1918

Everything but murder is to be the rule in the third, fourth and fifth wards in the forthcoming effort by Vare plug-uglies to unseat Penrose Republican leaders in these strongholds and establish "Ike" Deutsch, "Sam" Salus and "Doc" Henry Nolte as the strong-arm men for "the little fellow."

This news leaked out yesterday, although every effort was made to keep it under cover at the "quiet little smoker" held on Tuesday night in the third ward by the Vare Republican League, with such men as Deutsch, Magistrates Imber, Hogg, Baker and Persch as the guests of honor.

Altho Deutsch was the star speaker at this meeting, not excepting Imber and State Senator "Sam" Salus, protector of Reddy Jake Melinkoff, he was by no means the most important performer.

Two negro women, so thinly clad that not a muscle twitch of their hootchy-kootchy dance was overlooked by the Vare thugs who jammed the hall at Twelfth and Catharine streets, had the place of honor on the night's program.

When Nolte was asked about admissions to this affair, he said it was only a "quiet little smoker," an annual, innocent little affair given by some of the political workers in the ward. Invitation, he said, was by card, the company presumably being extremely small and select.

From the Vare-Deutsch point of view the company was select, nearly everybody with an indictment against him in connection with the fifth ward reign of terror being present, including Lieutenant Bennett, alias Steinberg, of the third police district, who ran the Vare terrorism in the fifth ward last fall.

Negro Women Delight Crowd

The negro dancers were brought on only after Nolte had made a careful scrutiny of every guest in the house and had convinced himself that there were no reporters present. While their contortions were delighting the small-fry Vare politicians, the "big fellows," like Deutsch, Imber, Salus and a few others, viewed the scene from another room.

The really important speeches were made in this room, with Deutsch the star orator. One account of his speech given yesterday by a man who heard it ran something like this:

"You boys will have to get out and work down here, that's all there is to it. Don't pay any attention to indictments. I've got about sixteen against me, but the senator will take care of them."

"Go the limit, and the sky's the limit."

It was also reported that Deutsch said "anything but murder" would be all right to win. He could not be reached last night to confirm or deny the report.

To cap the climax and make every one feel at home, when the smoke was about ready to dissolve in drunken delight, one political worker raised a howl that his pocket had been picked

of \$55. Some of the "big fellows" quieted him before he could do anything foolish like reporting to the police.

The only real accomplishment at the dinner was the establishment of the "Three-Four-Five" Club. Nick Di Lemmi, a bottler; Amos Scott, another rum seller; Deutsch, Salus and a few others contributed to a fund that finally reached \$345 to establish the club.

During the smoker booze was handed out by Joseph Scanepehchio, a clerk in the recorder of deeds' office. Policeman Sussnick, recently reinstated, although physically incapacitated for police duty, a relative of Sam Salus, was his assistant.

Ousted Cops Were There

One of the features of the smoker was the large attendance of discredited cops, fired off the police force for all sorts of crimes and violations of rules, including one case of robbery, who have since been reinstated to the force. Among these were Policeman Goldberg, Barney Curran and Elmer Chestnut.

"The little fellow" got another attack of "pedes frigides" and sent word that he couldn't come around. In this connection, it was learned yesterday that strong-arm followers of Senator Vare have been meeting him on the street for some time and, with no intention of trying to "josh" him, offering their congratulations for his apparent recovery from the attack of "pedes frigides" suffered by the Senator when he was scheduled to appear before the councilmanic finance committee to talk about his "moral claim" for \$150,000.

Some of the rank and file of the Vare bruisers read only the headlines and the first paragraph of The North American's announcement about his attack, and thus didn't realize that "pedes frigides" was translatable into "cold feet." They took it literally, and "the little fellow" has found it necessary to reprimand or ignore several of the most well-meaning of his friends.

NEW YEAR'S NIGHT EVENT

OF COLORED DEMOCRATS
BROOKLYN N.Y. STANDARD OCEAN
DECEMBER 29, 1918

A gala time is promised to those who attend the entertainment and dance held on New Year's Night at the county headquarters, Tammany Hall, Willoughby and Bridge streets, to be given under the auspices of the Colored Democratic Organization, comprising the Fifth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Twenty-third Assembly Districts. An excellent vaudeville bill, which will include many favorites, will be presented. There will be prizes for the winners in waltz and one-step contests and a cash prize for the best quartet of entertainers.

A meeting of the organization will be held at the hall to-morrow afternoon. The chairman is William H. M. Johnson. The entertainment committee is: Edward Beebe, chairman; A. Morighne, S. Williams, F. Morighne, Charles H. Holmes, L. Beebe, J. Hendrickson and R. Williams.

WOMAN'S CAUSE HALTED BY TWO MEN

A HEARTACHE IS FELT by one of the woman-suffrage leaders at the Senate's adverse vote on the woman-suffrage amendment, but the sorrow is not for herself or her sisters; it is for the Senate, which has "shamed our nation before the world." Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the author of this remark, even expressed satisfaction that the vote was taken, since, as she is quoted in the *New York Tribune*, "we know now exactly how to place our work," and the same journal quotes Dr. Anna Howard Shaw as saying, "we are stronger to-day than we have ever been before, and we renew our struggle for the reign of law based on the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind." Miss Paul, head of the National Woman's party, is quoted by the *New York World* as follows: "This defeat is a temporary defeat. The vote of the United States Senate, we are convinced, will be reversed before this Congress ends. Our efforts to secure that reversal will begin at once and will continue until our victory in the House is confirmed in the Senate." From Washington dispatches we learn that the total number of votes cast was only 84, owing to the absence of twelve Senators on the Liberty Loan campaign and other business. The absent Senators were all paired, and, counting the absentees, the vote stood at 62 to 34, lacking two votes necessary for passing under the two-thirds rule. Some observers consider as not the least surprising feature of the Senate's stand the fact that it was taken in despite of the President's personal appeal to support the amendment as a war-measure. Altho the *New York World* disagrees with the President's judgment on this point, it does confess that it "can find no evidence of either consistency or of principle in the action of the Senate," and, recalling the Senate's attitude toward the Prohibition Amendment, this daily remarks that it is evident that the adverse vote on suffrage represented "personal prejudice rather than adherence to any known theory of government." Reflection upon the status of suffrage in England, in Canada, in every English-speaking country save America, observes the *New York Tribune*, can not fail to turn the dwindling minority of opposition in the Senate from its error. The President's declaration that suffrage is a war-measure "in its nature can not have specific and material demonstration," *The Tribune* goes on to say, but "the larger truth lay unquestionably with Mr. Wilson's plea, and the coming weeks and months are certain to establish that truth." The voters of the nation, men and women alike, it adds, can be counted on to attend to these Senators in due course, for the United States of America "will not long support a Senate that insists upon being more reactionary and less progressive than the British House of Lords." *The Wheeling Intelligencer*, too, has not the least doubt that woman suffrage will finally prevail in this country, for "this great reform has progressed too far to be turned back now." A Washington correspondent of the *New York World* calls attention to the fact that the chief hope of the suffrage advocates lies in the elections held November 5, and tells us further:

"Eight Senators voted who are serving by appointment. Their terms will expire immediately after successors appear. It is barely possible the additional two votes may be obtained through the election of Senators to succeed the present appointees."

"The eight appointive Senators were evenly divided. Guion, of Louisiana; Baird, of New Jersey; Drew, of New Hampshire, and Benet, of South Carolina, voted against the resolution. Wilfley, of Missouri; Martin, of Kentucky; Nugent, of Idaho, and Henderson, of Nevada, voted for the resolution. Politicians

from the States indicated believe the alinement will remain unchanged, thus leaving the suffragists still two votes short after November 5.

"Some reliance is placed in the possible conversion of sufficient Senators to remedy the situation. It is believed by suffrage advocates that now the President will systematically take up the work of laboring with the obdurate ones."

In a Washington dispatch to the *New York Tribune* (Rep.) we read that the defeat of woman suffrage in the Senate is looked upon as somewhat of a disaster to the Democratic party and as a blow at President Wilson's power as a party leader, and we are told that—

"The fact that so many Senators from Southern States sacrificed their loyalty to the President to their Bourbonism will, it is believed, convince independent voters of progressive tendencies that there is no hope for their aspirations in the Democratic party, and that to-day's vote brands the party as too heavily loaded with reactionaries. Republican leaders count upon large gains from this element as well as from those who will determine their future political alinement solely upon the suffrage question. It is true that ten Republicans voted against suffrage, but, altho the minority party, it delivered more votes for suffrage than the Democrats. In the Western States the suffragists now purpose frankly to oppose Democratic nominees for the Senate, and it is considered possible that, as a direct consequence of their failure to-day to respond to their leader's call, the Democrats may lose control of the Senate and also of the House."

In the *New York Globe* Mr. Judson C. Welliver writes from Washington that the question has now been made something of a sectional issue:

"The suffragists fear that while the President has been able to make his own position perfectly plain as their supporter, may have done it in a way that is calculated to solidify the opposition that can possibly postpone for long the victory of the Federal amendment. There will be no serious Democratic split over suffrage, because, after all, the mainstay of Democracy is in the South, and the South has said No. But there is conceivably about the danger of making suffrage more distinctly a sectional question than it has ever been before."

By voting down their own party leader for the first time in his Presidential career, writes Mr. David Lawrence in a Washington dispatch to the *New York Evening Post*, the Southern faction of the Democratic party not only weakened his prestige, but put the hands of the Democratic campaigners in the North, and we read:

"Republicans are chuckling over the situation produced by the coalition of their own opposition to suffrage and the much larger opposition inside the Democratic party. The Southern Democrats are undismayed. The Northern and Western Democrats are worried. It is truly an extraordinary situation, and a woman is at the bottom of it all."

COLORED DELAWARE VOTERS Daily Herald TO GO ON WAR PATH

Will Demand Political Recognition

That "things aint like they use to be" in Delaware politics is being made clear by the following resolution of a recent Kent County meeting of colored voters, according to the *Philadelphia Ledger*:

"While sincere and loyal in our allegiance to the Republican party, we realize that as a distinct element we have peculiar claims for recognition in the various departments of our State Government which have not been met. We shall request that the nominees of our party for political office be clean and honorable men, who are broadminded and patriotic enough to stand square for real democracy in our State.

"No Negro has ever been chosen to represent his race in the General Assembly; none holds any office in the executive department; no member of the race serves on the jury when our people are accused of crime; no Negro attorney appears for us in the courts. We believe that excellence of character and proficiency of attainment should be the only test of fitness for public service. Men of like sentiments shall have our unequalled support."

The Negroes hold the balance of power at elections in Delaware, having a voting strength of about 10,000. They are intimating that they will make an effort to influence the nomination of a candidate for United States Senate, as well as for State of Delaware who will befriend them in the matter of political preferment, and they will doubtless have to be reckoned with when it comes to making the nominations. Heretofore, they have not been seriously considered,

and a change of program may be necessary to meet the new order of things.

NEWARK N. J. LEDGER
NOVEMBER 3, 1918

Three Europeans of African descent have won world-wide and lasting fame in their chosen callings and professions. They are Alexander Dumas, the greatest romancer France has produced; Coleridge Taylor, one of England's premier musicians, and Alexander Pushkin, the greatest of Russian poets.

In Seattle, Wash., Mrs. W. L. Presto, a colored woman, was a candidate for State Senator in the recent primary in that State.

Dr. Evelyn Mitchell, a native of East Orange and a graduate of Cornell and George Washington Colleges, is now serving as professor of Neurology at Howard Institute.

The city of St. Louis recently purchased the colored hospital situated at Garrison and Lawton avenues paying \$62,500 for the property.

The Industrial Savings Bank of Washington, D. C., sold over \$41,000 worth of the Fourth Liberty Loan Bonds.

Dr. George W. Adams, for ten years cashier of the Mechanics & Farmers' Bank at Durham, N. C., is dead. Dr. Adams was one of the leading colored bankers in the country.

The People's Baptist Church of Boston, Mass., of which the Rev. Dr. D. S. Klugh, is pastor, in a recent drive to wipe out the church debt, raised over \$11,000.

Among the students at Chicago University is Miss Geneva Daniels, a colored girl of Bloomington, Ill. Miss Daniels graduated from the Normal High School, winning the George Washington Scholarship, providing for \$300 a year for four years at any college in the country.

Suffrage
HOUSTON TEX. POST
JANUARY 11, 1918

Once again our democratic president abandons his oldtime political principles and embraces the national brand of woman's suffrage.

But a few months ago, his advocacy of woman's suffrage was qualified. He favored it through State action. Now he favors it as a matter of national action, or, plainly, through compulsory processes if events shall demonstrate that three-fourths of the States favor an amendment.

So far as The Post is able to discern, only a few people are considering the national suffrage and national prohibition questions except upon grounds of expediency, prejudice or partisanship.

The possible inflicting of either policy upon States that do not favor it is very meagerly considered. All of which goes to show that there is very little disposition shown to consider the logical consequences of trifling with the constitution to put into effect the policies one may desire.

It is observed, however, that in some quarters quite a distinction is drawn between the prohibition and the suffrage amendments. Mississippi's legislature promptly ratified the prohibition amendment by an almost unanimous vote, but there is much opposition to the suffrage amendment in Mississippi.

Mississippi's negro population forms 60 per cent of the whole and Mississippi fears national suffrage control, and is therefore opposed to it. But Mississippi is sure that New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey ought to be dry whether their citizens desire prohibition or not. So dry Mississippi votes to put it over on wet New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

And later on suffrage legislatures in New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey are going to vote to expand the franchise in Mississippi.

You will have to admit that turn about is fair play.

If dry Mississippi is not willing to let the liquor question alone in New York, she can not expect suffrage New York to let the suffrage question alone in Mississippi.

Considered upon principle alone, national suffrage and national prohibition are of the same stripe. That is to say, they take from the States, willy nilly, the right to regulate suffrage and the liquor traffic.

But there is far more justification of national suffrage control than national liquor control. The regulation or prohibition of the liquor traffic is purely a matter of police regulation and there is not logically a Federal question in it, after the matter of Federal taxation is eliminated.

Not so with suffrage. The consequences of the extension or suppression of suffrage are national in their scope. The congressman voted for and elected in the States votes upon question affecting the welfare of people in all the States. For this reason the people of one State may with much plausibility claim the right to demand that suffrage in other States, in so far as it relates to the election of president, senators and representatives, be based upon a law of general application.

There is far more justification, therefore, as The Post sees it, for Northern and Western States to force national control of suffrage upon the South than there is for the South to co-operate with the dry Western commonwealths to force prohibition upon wet Northern commonwealths.

License in the North can not effect domestic conditions in the dry South, but suffrage conditions in the South may materially affect domestic conditions in the North.

Indications are that little opportunity is going to be given the people to discuss either amendment. Mississippi ratifies the prohibition amendment without further discussion among the people, and there will be suffrage legislatures, in all probability, to return the compliment.

What the radicals are doing to our form of government in the excitement of war, when basic principles are lost sight of and only opportunism, expediency, prejudice and experimentalism are active, remains to be seen. But if a sober second thought fails to halt present movements in time, we shall emerge from the war with a new form of government.

So far as we can see, the democratic party now in power has absolutely discarded the principles which called it into being, and is fully embarked upon an uncharted sea of socialism, federalism, opportunism and a form of democracy in which the individualism that was the faith of the fathers is to be honored no longer.

EXPEDIENCY OR PRINCIPLE?

Mr. W. B. Palmer, of Furman, Ala., is marching shoulder to shoulder with B. Anthony, Chad Stevens, Cady, Anna Howard Shaw and Carrie Catt when he scoffs at the plea of State rights and declares that the question of Federal suffrage is merely a matter of "expediency," not of fundamental principle. He cites the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments as models of constitutional virtue, and asks The Advertiser: "Why should there be an infringement of State rights or any further centralization to modify that amendment so as to read 'on account of race, color, sex or previous condition of servitude?' Why does sex centralize more than does color? * * * The work has been done and there can be no additional

centralization by adding woman."

Mention of the war amendments, the fifteenth and fourteenth so confidently held up as models by our valued correspondent, takes the mind back to the time of saturnalia and crime, of foul tyranny and merciless oppression, back to the time when the unparalleled civilization of the South, shaken by war, was over-turned and wrecked through these vengeful measures. In this time of saturnalia and oppression, the intelligence and virtue of the South lost its civil rights at the point of Federal bayonets. It could neither vote nor hold office. It could pay taxes, extortionate and discriminating, but was powerless to save the public moneys from alien plunderers. White women were pushed from the sidewalks of the cities, and dared not travel the highways of the country without protection. But Mr. Palmer should know these things. If not, let him turn to his Fleming. In time he will remember, the men of the South regathered their scattered remnants, struck again for freedom and justice; they drove out the carpet-bagger and scalawag, finally and with success appealed to the conscience of the better classes in the North. But for forty years the white men of the South were forced, by sheer necessity of self-preservation, to practice corruption at the ballot box before the day of complete deliverance from the menace of an ignorant, but powerful vote. That deliverance was made possible largely by the political truce with the politicians of the Republican party who suffered the South to restrict the franchise more in accordance with the spirit of our institutions than with the letter of the Constitution. The Federal government has the power now to enforce the radical provisions of these two amendments. Several times after Reconstruction the Republican party threatened again to enforce these obnoxious amendments, but on each occasion Southern Democrats by powerful appeals to the conscience of the opposition to respect the right of a sovereign State to determine its own policies and its own destiny were able to stay the Federal hand.

The submission by Congress and the ratification by the States of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments constitute the boldest stain on the record of free government known to the enlightened people of modern times. It was done at the instigation of a few vindictive and unscrupulous politicians in Congress for the sake of political power and revenge—in fine "to make treason odious!"—by taking advantage of the inflamed passions of the victorious Northern people and their lack of understanding of what such a policy by the government must mean, their natural lack of sympathy, so soon after war, with the people of the South. Enlightened opinion at the North has frankly admitted for years that a co-

lossal blunder was committed when Federal oppression was substituted in one part of the country for the principle of local self-government.

The day of revenge is past. We shall have no repetition of reconstruction in the South as a measure of reprisal for any wrong committed by the South. But there is a danger that at no distant time the self-interest and the mushy theories about uplift entertained by America's irresponsible radical element may undermine the civilization of the South by putting the ballot into the hands of all adults, regardless of color and enforcing submission to whatever evils such a condition may foster. Once the East Side Socialist and the Pennsylvania Republican find it to the interest of their causes and decide to enforce the provisions of the fourteenth amendment, we shall have a return of intolerable conditions in the South. Unless we retain our system of government, wherein each State is a republic, free to play captain of its soul regardless of the whims and special interests of distant republics, we have opened the gates for the worms and they shall gnaw away the classic foundations of this Western experiment in human freedom.

Mr. Harry St. George Tucker traces the mark of distinction between National government and local self-government:

The words "local self-government" are not, as is supposed by many, mere words to conjure with; oftentimes invoked by politicians, because of their hoary and honorable lineage, to lead the people into devious and slippery paths. These words had their origin in the profoundest political philosophy. They are the answer which free government makes to the oppressed. They are the response that liberty makes to tyranny. They are the guaranty of the safety of the home, the recognition of the trusteeship of man as the defender of the home and the guardian of its sacred precincts * * * Woodrow Wilson once wrote:

The United States are not a single homeogenous community. In spite of a certain superficial sameness which seems to impart to Americans a common type and point of view, they still contain communities at almost every stage of development, illustrating in their social and economic structure almost every modern variety of interest and prejudice, following occupations of every kind in climates of every sort that the Temperate Zone affords.

One State cannot, therefore, legislate wisely and justly for another State.

Mr. Wilson said again a few years ago, discussing the weakness of the propagandist for hurrying up with his pet theories and demanding that we make the shortest cuts to reform, even though it may endanger our system of self-government: "To buy temporary ease and convenience for the performance of a few great tasks of the

hour at the expense of that (local self-government) would be to pay too great a

price and to cheat all generations for the sake of one."

Mr. Wilson said again: "The history of is a history of the limitation of governmental power, not the increase of it."

Senator Oscar Underwood recently made before the Senate one of the ablest addresses of his career. The speech may be found in the Congressional Record of June 14. In the course of his remarks on the theory of our system he said:

You may contend that the ideals you seek are in the interest of good government, but do not forget that good government often at its best is not a substitute for self-government, and that it is far better that each community should be allowed to develop its own experiments and pay the penalty for its own mistakes rather than lack the power to initiate, for only in this way can it obtain the high ideals of citizenship.

It is absurd to hold that the question of choosing between Federal control and State control of suffrage is a matter of "expediency." Nothing goes more deeply to the root of our system, nothing more fundamental. Within the State all that we do by counties or do to counties is a matter of expediency, for the county has no sovereign character. It is not the creator. It is the creature. But the States are the creators of our whole system, including first of all the Federal government. If we change this situation we alter the fundamental character of our governmental system.

EXPEDIENCY OR FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE?

Editor The Advertiser:

In the editorial column of June 15th we find these words: "The principle involved in the Federal amendment for prohibition and the Federal amendment for woman's suffrage is the same. It involves the surrender of the right by a State to manage its own affairs and to submit to dictation by other States of the Union." Mr. John W. Rish, class orator of the University of Alabama, stated that "National prohibition is a step towards unification," "against the powers of the States," and that "this amendment is soon to be followed by another authorizing woman's suffrage." Senator Underwood and others hold similar views.

Without taking either side of the question pertaining to woman's suffrage at present, we believe this cry about woman's suffrage will frighten some who would be inclined to vote for national prohibition. When our Federal Constitution ripened from a long background of growth, the question of woman's political rights had not been seriously considered by the masses. The Advertiser uttered a truism in a recent editorial when the statement was made that some thinker, some philosopher, in the quietude of his study, is back of every great movement in the world's history. The generals, the politicians are the unjust harvesters of the honors. There had been no great thinkers who had impressed a custom-ruled world with the rights of woman. Upon reference to the Federal Constitution we find in the 14th amendment

these words: "When the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such States, being 21 years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crimes, the basis of representation shall therein be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State." Man is mentioned in that amendment. If woman had been mentioned, would there have been centralization? In the 15th amendment we find that "the right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Why should there be an infringement of States rights or any further centralization to modify that amendment so as to read "on account of race, color, sex, or previous condition of servitude." Why does sex centralize more than does color? We do not answer the question by saying that the South had nothing to do with the amendments. The work has been done and there can be no additional centralization by adding woman. Why not follow Brother Crumpton's advice and be candid, or at least find out that we are mistaken? Why not state that we are opposed to woman voting because we were not raised to think in such terms, and that we believe what Mr. McAdoo told us, "that we should not go back on our raising." The question then, is not one of States rights, but of expediency. Those who oppose woman's suffrage raise a cry about the votes of negro women. Why does it become more serious to brush aside the votes of negro women than it does of negro men? Those questions are waiting for answers. Let us not be swept astray by the shouts of negro domination, centralization but stick to the text: "Is it expedient for woman to vote?"

W. B. PALMER.

Furman, Alabama, June 18, 1918.

WITHIN ONE VOTE.

The amendment to the Federal Constitution for woman's suffrage lacks now only one vote in the Senate; it has already been passed by the House. A motion made in the Senate Monday to set Friday as the date for a vote on the amendment required the same vote as would the passage of the amendment—two-thirds of the membership of the Senate. The supporters of the amendment, failed by only one vote for they got 40 votes while their opponents polled 21.

In December, when the amendment went over from the House, it was announced that it lacked only four votes in the Senate. A month ago it was said that the supporters of this Federal amendment needed only two votes to have the amendment passed. They were apparently sure of these two votes Monday when they attempted their coup and when they came within one vote of clearing the way for the amendment.

This additional vote may be had at any time. Politicians in both the Republican and Democratic parties are trying to get this one Senate vote for the suffrage lobbyists. The party machinery of both parties, made up of practical politicians, who have forgotten their convictions on this issue, if they ever had any, and who are trying to win a class vote in the suffrage States is behind the amendment.

The Federal amendment for woman's suffrage is an issue in Alabama, no less than the Federal amendment for prohibition. The legislature which is to be elected this year will hold office for four years; in that period both amendments to the constitution will be either rejected or ratified by the Legislature of Alabama. Every candidate for the House and Senate in Alabama this year should be required to make absolutely clear his position on both Federal amendments.

The vital issue, forced by the lobbyists in Washington, is not prohibition and it is not suffrage; it is the alteration of the constitution, the surrender of the rights of the State, and the giving of the State's consent to have its constitutional power exercised by the Federal government. Prohibition in Alabama in no wise is dependent upon the adoption or rejection of the first amendment; woman's suffrage in Alabama is in no wise dependent upon the adoption or rejection of the second amendment, except that prohibition and woman's suffrage can be forced on States which do not want it.

Alabama has the way open for the establishment of woman's suffrage, even as it had a way open for the establishment of prohibition. But if the amendment is ratified by sufficient States, woman's suffrage can be forced on the people of Alabama whether they want it or not. What is even more dangerous, due to our peculiar conditions, which we share with other Southern States, all suffrage restrictions and regulations will be at the mercy of the Federal government.

Since the establishment of our form of government the control of suffrage has been with the States. Has any valid reason been advanced as to why Alabama and the other States should surrender this right which is the bulwark of protection for their own civilization? Can any patriotic Alabamian contemplate without anxiety, the taking over by the Federal government of all suffrage legislation? No lobbyists, no agitator, no hired speaker has yet given a valid reason as to why the States should supinely surrender their inherent powers, and their agencies for self protection by adopting the Federal amendment for national prohibition and the Federal amendment for national woman's suffrage.

"BUCKING" THE INEVITABLE.

About the most typical illustration of wasted energy and futile endeavor that suggests itself at this stage of national progress is fighting prohibition. *Constitution*

And the man or group of men or the state legislature that goes to grip with the issue and essays to check its onward sweep is comparable to a fly that would fasten to a buggy wheel and try to stop its revolutions.

4-7-18
Yet a group of Alabama democrats the other night held a meeting and drew up plans "to fight the ratification of the national prohibition amendment!"

The other states are ratifying the amendment almost as fast as their legislatures can get to it. Eleven now have fallen into line; and the indications all point to the fact that the requisite twenty-five additional ones will follow suit in the order of their legislative convocations. True, New York did not; but New York is New York! And at that the pro-ratificationists lost by only one vote in the New York senate!

But the meeting of the Alabama democrats—which must not be taken as embodying the democratic party in Alabama—also "went on record as opposed to the woman suffrage amendment." Which is about on a par with its opposing prohibition, because if there is one thing other than prohibition, that is as certainly inevitable in this country, and as a universal reform, that one thing is woman enfranchisement. So the one action by those Alabama democrats was perfectly in keeping with the other!

"Leaders" are reported to have "pointed out the position of the meeting to be that if the south forces prohibition on the north, the northern states will be justified in retaliating with equal suffrage, which, they declare, will enfranchise the negro as well as the white women!"

In other words, if the south forces the north into prohibition—notwithstanding the fact that the northern legislatures are piling onto the prohibition band-wagon, where nearly all of the western states already are riding high, just as fast as their legislatures can get to it—they, as a punitive measure, will force the south to dignify and honor its women by bestowing upon them the rights of citizenship; or, force the south to accord its women rights and privileges at least equal to those enjoyed by its negro men!

But Alabama has not taken that position; and those citizens of Alabama who have would be doing far better were they to square around, face the rising sun and prepare their state to catch step with the procession as it marches by!

Political-1918

Suffrage

White Primary In South Carolina Threatened

Rottenness of White Primary Again Exposed and Plaintive Appeal Made by State Chairman J. G. Evans to White Voters to Save Sacred In- stitution From Themselves

"To the Democracy of South Carolina: A crisis confronts the Democratic party in this State heretofore unparalleled in its history. Your executive committee is powerless to deal with it, but as gaurdians of the party it is our duty to call to your attention existing conditions.

"At the last State convention of the party a rule was passed denying to any citizen who voted against the regular nominees of the primary in 1916 as declared by the Sstae or county executive committee, the right to participate in a democratic primary subsequent thereto. At the last general election an independent movement was organized against the nominees of your party, over 1,200 votes being polled at the said election against them. These electors cannot participate in the coming primary election unless deliberately perjuring themselves.

"A defeated candidate for the United States Senate and a prominent candidate now for the same office in the approaching primary election openly by word of mouth, thru the public press of the State and privately, advised his followers that they were not bound to support the

nominees of the party in th egeneral election. The instigator of the crime under the written and moral law is as guilty as the real criminal, and his punishment should be as great.

"A former office holder in the party and now a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people in the public press over his own signature and on the stump has openly charged a candidate for the United States senate with conspiracy to organize an independent movement for the purpose of betraying, defeating and destroying the Democratic party in this State, and to that end funds to the amount of \$45,000 were solicited from a former member of the national Republican committee from this State with which to accomplish their criminal purpose and to corrupt the electorate in this State. The sad experience only of this white Republican with former efforts in this line alone saved the State from these conspirators. This candidate for the senate admits over his own signature that the proposition was made and considered, but denies that he was a party to a conference with the Republican committeeman or that he agreed to be a party to the conspiracy. The former private secretary of the former governor of this State now a candidate for the United States

senate, over his own signature, in the public press, verifies the essential facts, alleges the conspiracy, but claims that he declined to be a party to it. The former friend and close associate of this candidate, the publisher of a newspaper devoted to the political interests of these conspirators, over his own signature charges that this candidate for the United States senate was responsible for the independent movement organized by him and actually named the candidate on the ticket.

"The high sheriff of the county of Greenville openly states in the public press of the State that a candidate for governor in the approaching primary made a proposition to him that if he would become a candidate for lieutenant governor at the approaching primary election and advocate the election of this candidate for governor, that he would furnish him the sum of \$2,000, an automobile, etc. All of these charges are supported by the direct testimony of individuals, and the strongest circumstantial evidence. A candidate for the United States senate has openly refused to attend the campaign meetings in this State or to take part therein for the reason assigned by him that said campaign was ordered by a partisan executive committee refusing to recognize the authority of this new committee which has been duly elected by the State and county conventions since his charge of fraud. This candidate still continues to assert and charge that he was defeated in the election of 1916 by fraud, although he has never had the courage to contest or protest in the courts or in any manner that election. He continues his efforts to destroy the faith of the people in the organization of

his party and to bring reproach thereon by proclaiming himself to be a Democrat.

"Through the unfortunate death of Senator Tillman a situation has arisen in the approaching primary election unforeseen and entirely unsatisfactory to the rank and file of the party in this State. Your committee is powerless to act in the matter, except to refer the same to a convention of the party, together with the charges first mentioned, trusting that the people will treat the matter as it deserves, thru their duly elected delegates as provided in the rules of the party, which refernece the committee deems inadvisable at this time.

SAVING THE CONSTITUTION.
SAN ANTONIO TEX. HERALD.
MARCH 6, 1918

Inasmuch as there appears to be some question in the mind of some of the people with respect to the ratification of amendments to the Federal Constitution, the best place to go for information is to the Constitution itself.

Article five of that instrument reads: "The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other method of ratification may be proposed by the Congress."

There have been five amendments to the Federal Constitution since the Civil War, the first of these, the thirteenth, proclaimed December 18, 1865, was ratified by 31 of the 36 States; rejected by Delaware and Kentucky, and not acted on by Texas. The fourteenth, known as the "reconstruction amendment," was ratified by 23 Northern States and rejected by 10 Southern States which subsequently ratified under pressure. The fifteenth, enfranchising the negroes, was rejected by California, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey and Oregon, and not acted on by Tennessee; was ratified by the remaining 30 States, though New

York subsequently rescinded its ratification. It was proclaimed March 30, 1870. The sixteenth, or income tax amendment, was ratified by all but six of the States, and declared in force February 25, 1913. The seventeenth, and last of the amendments, declaring for direct vote by the people for United States Senators, was ratified by all the States except Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah and Virginia and was declared in force May 31, 1913.

These amendments were ratified by the Legislatures of the several States and so far as the records show, the question of a popular referendum which arose in the New York Assembly, as well as in the Texas Legislature was not seriously considered by either those favoring or those opposing ratification. The probability is that the forty-two States yet to pass on the pending amendment to the fundamental law will leave ratification or rejection to the Legislature, as has been done heretofore, or may settle the matter by convention, if that be their preference or if the Legislature should refuse to act. In either case, the ratification, it appears, would be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Federal Constitution.

REPUBLICANS PLAN TO GIVE AID TO NEGROES

Establish Legal Aid Committee to
Bolster Up Weakening
Registrants.

ST LOUIS MO REPUBLICAN
OCTOBER 25 1918

In an effort to counteract the criticism resulting from an expose of Republican machine methods by the police investigation of the top-heavy negro registration in St. Louis and bolster up the weakening negro registrants, the Republicans have established a "Legal Aid Committee" to furnish advice to those negroes who find difficulty in voting on election day. It became known yesterday.

Robert W. Hall, a candidate for Circuit Judge on the Republican ticket, meted. Henry W. Kortjohn, former chairman of the Board of Election Commissioners, was chosen chairman. Lawyers and business men yesterday expressed surprise that a candidate for the Circuit bench would take an active part in politics to the ex-

tent of giving advice to negroes or whites whose votes are questioned, at an election at which he is a candidate for office. They declared that the bench should be kept out of politics and that the campaign of candidates for Judge should be in accord with the dignity of the office.

The first day of the police investigation of the negro registration brought out such amazing results that additional policemen have been assigned to the work, so that a complete report of conditions can be made to the Election Board, it was learned yesterday.

Six Days to Make Canvass.

About 75 policemen and detective sergeants are now making an active canvass of the negro districts under Detective Sergeant James King. It has been announced that it will require about six days to complete the inquiry, instead of the four days at first expected.

Of approximately 1,000 names on the registration lists investigated, it has been found that about 600 do not live at the addresses given and are not known there. In several houses from which from six to eight negroes registered the police have found that none of the registered negroes live there.

The charge has been made by representatives of the dry forces and the Democratic City and State committees that the registration lists have been padded by Republican ward workers with the names of negroes who have not lived here the period required of voters. This colonization of negroes for voting purposes has been done for two purposes, they assert—to try to defeat prohibition and to try to carry St. Louis for the Republican ticket.

A systematic scheme of Republican bosses to make the preliminary arrangements for a record-breaking negro vote in St. Louis was outlined yesterday by Democrats and dry workers. They declare they have found that large numbers of negroes were persuaded to come to St. Louis from Southern States by letters, promising them large wages in munitions plants here.

Picked men were used for this work, it is charged, and a negro "General" was chosen from each State to take charge of the negroes, who came here from his State and require them to register and vote. Detailed instructions were given the new negroes as to what answers to make to questions of registration officials pertaining to their length of residence here.

When the preliminary registration setting had been completed by padding the registration lists with several thousand new names, the Democrats charge that the Republicans expected to use many of the negroes as "repeaters" to visit various polling places and vote under the names of absentees and others whose names would be given to them by Republican precinct workers.

The registration records show that more than 8,000 new names of negroes were placed on the books on registration day, September 19, according to Glendy B. Arnold, chairman of the Board of Election Commissioners, who asked for the police investigation. The total negro registration is 15,803.

Want Strange Police on Job.

The plan outlined by the Republicans the Democrats declare, was to ask that on election day the police on all beats be shifted to other beats, on the alleged ground that a fairer election would be held by having strange patrolmen at the polling places.

The real reason for the requested shift of policemen, the Democrats say, is to provide policemen at each polling place who would not be acquainted with the negro voters on that beat and who could not readily detect "repeat-

ing" or the voting of the names of absent negroes personally known to the officer.

Chairman Arnold of the Election Board has declared he will oppose such shift of the police, and that he will request that the police be assigned to duty on their regular beats at the election.

"If the shift is made as desired by the Republicans, the policemen could stand at the polls all day and never see a familiar face," he said. "If the patrolman on that beat sees a negro come to vote, he knows how long the negro has lived in that district and can give valuable information to the election officials if votes are challenged."

The Republican city and State committees yesterday sent a joint letter to the Election Board asking that the police be shifted on election day, and indirectly criticised the police investigation of the negro registration by demanding that an investigation of the entire registration, whites and blacks, be made by the police in conjunction with the Election Board. The Republicans asked that each policeman be accompanied by a clerk or clerks from the election office.

SENATORS FAIL TO ACT ON "SUFFRAGE" RESOLUTION AS FEET GET COLD

Loss of Several Votes Causes

Managers to Defer Vote—

Opposition Expects to Win

Out
The Negroes
WILLIAMS HAD A

Advised
FAIR AMENDMENT

Sought to Enfranchise White

Women Only—Its Defeat

Predicted — Senate Gal-

leries Packed

9-27-18
(Associated Press.)
WASHINGTON, Sept. 27.—The Senate failed again Thursday to reach a vote on the House resolution proposing submission to the states of the Susan B.

Anthony woman suffrage amendment to the constitution. After a day of conferences and of debate, before crowded galleries the Senate adjourned until today to continue the discussion, but with little likelihood of a vote before next Saturday, if then.

Absence of senators favoring the resolution, defections its advocates were reported to have suffered, an unexpected protraction of debate, contributed to postponement of action and to the disappointment of the throng of spectators which had gathered.

Uncertainty as to disposition of the resolution was increased as a result of Thursday's developments. Senator Jones, of New Mexico, chairman of the woman suffrage committee, said last night that a vote before Saturday was "extremely unlikely," while leading opponents of the resolution said the vote might be delayed indefinitely.

Jones "Prays" for Time.

The close line up of the Senate on the resolution was an admitted factor in yesterday's action. Chairman Jones announced that before pressing a vote managers of the resolution desire to await the return of Senator LaFollette of Wisconsin who favors the resolution and who was not "paired." He is returning from California and is due in Washington late Saturday. Senator Jones also said that Senator Townsend of Michigan, another absent supporter of the resolution, but who is paired, desired to vote, should arrive by Saturday.

With these votes, Senator Jones and other champions of the resolution believed the necessary two-thirds majority would be mustered on a final roll call. Opponents, however, were confident of having votes to insure its defeat, even with absentees present.

Some senators supporting the resolution admitted last night privately that without any further change, the resolution would be defeated by one vote. They said the latest private polls showed that the Senate stood 63 to 33 in favor of the resolution, just one short of the two-thirds majority.

Nearly All in Seats.

Almost the entire membership of the Senate was present when Senator Jones called up the resolution, many senators having come long distances. The galleries were crowded principally by women representing National organizations favoring or opposing the amendment for which suffrage forces have fought for half a century.

After many petitions for and against the resolution, including one from the woman's party bearing 50,000 names, had been presented, debate began and it continued until late in the day when the Senate went into executive session to consider other matters. Discussion centered principally on questions of race and states rights.

Williams' Amendment.

Senator Williams of Mississippi introduced an amendment proposing to enfranchise only white women, declaring that adoption of it would remove most of the objection and permit the Senate to dispose of the resolution and give its attention to prosecuting the war. Before adjourning last night, the Senate ordered a roll call on the Williams amendment as the first order of business today. Defeat of the amendment generally was expected.

Senator Hardwick of Georgia, also

opposed giving the vote to negro women, declaring that it would add to the white man's burden" in the south because negro soldiers under constitutions of most southern states can vote after the war. Senator McKellar of Tennessee, declared that the fears of senators that the suffrage amendment would disturb the racial franchise situation in the south was unfounded.

May Vote Saturday.

While debate proceeded often with few senators present, and with the women spectators knitting, and at times, conversing so loudly that the presiding officer had to call for order, animated conferences by and between leaders in the opposing factions were held on the floor, in cloakrooms and lobbies. Last minute polls were taken by the resolution's friends and leaders said these prompted the decision to defer a vote until Saturday.

Negroes Stopped at Registration Polls, Republicans Declare

Party Leaders Will Ask for Probe—Returns Indicate

40,000 Enroll.
ST LOUIS MO GLOBE DEMOCRAT
SEPTEMBER 20, 1918

Incomplete returns received at the office of the Board of Election Commissioners last night indicated that yesterday's registration of voters in the city would reach approximately a total of 40,000. This is 10,000 below the advance estimate of Glendy B. Arnold, chairman of the board.

Polling places were open in all of the city's 500 precincts from 8 a. m. to 10 p. m. Complete tabulation of the returns will be made some time today.

Republican party leaders complained last night that Democratic workers had attempted to intimidate negro voters in some of the downtown wards.

William T. Egan, Democratic constable and saloon keeper at 1400 Franklin avenue, was arrested by the police at a Fifth Ward polling place yesterday, where shots were fired and twenty-five negroes were in a row with white men who had driven up in autos. Egan was charged with disturbing the peace. His brother, Tom Egan, Democratic city committeeman, was present at the time, according to the police.

At Thirteenth street and Franklin avenue the polling place was closed up from 7 p. m. until 9:30 p. m. and many negroes went without having had an opportunity to register.

Republican politicians declare that at a polling place at 2123 Franklin avenue, while Joseph Madows, 2118 Morgan street, a negro, was attempting to sign the registration books, Democratic workers ejected him and three other negroes who were in line. The Democratic workers charged Madows with having served a term in the Workhouse, they said, although Madows had told the election officials in the polling place that he never had been a Workhouse prisoner.

Chairman Arnold and Vincent Dempsey, an Election Board member, were kept busy during the evening answer-

ing calls to Fifth Ward precincts. Arnold, a Democrat, cautioned election officials in regard to interference with voters.

Chairman John Schmoll of the Republican City Committee, who had been summoned into the ward by party workers, issued a statement last night to the effect that he would call upon Circuit Attorney McDaniel to investigate the whole affair.

"The registration in the Fifth Ward today was an outrage against clean elections," Schmoll said to a GLOBE-DEMOCRAT reporter. "Election judges blocked registration by asking negroes foolish questions and insulting voters. In the evening the election officials deliberately closed the doors of the polling place at Thirteenth street and Franklin avenue, while scores of voters were seeking to register."

"As a climax to the mob performance, six automobiles, loaded with gangsters, drove up to the polls at 916 North Seventeenth street at 9 p. m. and began to slug twenty-five negroes who were standing in line to register. I read in the morning papers a statement by Circuit Attorney McDaniel that he favors clean elections and that he calls upon all citizens to assist him in keeping this election clean and fair. The Republican City Committee now stands ready to give him all the assistance possible."

Chairman Arnold estimated that an average of 100 voters would register in each of the 500 precincts, but many of the precincts in the river wards fell below that figure. Precinct 12 of the Third Ward reported a registration of 56; Precinct 13, Fourth Ward, 67; Precinct 5, Eighth Ward, 40; Precinct 5, Ninth Ward, 43, and Precinct 21, Eleventh Ward, 58.

Registration in the West End wards promises to offset the slump in the river wards. Precinct 2, Twenty-eighth Ward, reported an enrollment of 200 at 8:30 p. m. One hundred and twenty-five voters registered in Precinct 15, Twenty-second Ward; 109 in Precinct 21, Twenty-eighth Ward; 115 in Precinct 11, Twenty-second Ward, and 105 in Precinct 17, Twenty-seventh Ward.

Five men were arrested during the day for failing to produce registration cards. Jerry Webster, 3024 Morgan street, gave his age as 46 and the police state that he is listed as being 36 on the 1916 polling list. William Higbair, 2625 North Jefferson avenue, gave his age as 46, though he is listed as being 38 in the 1916 registration. Lawrence Baker, a negro, 3004 Vine Grove avenue, said he forgot to register in the draft. Joe Smith, 2637A Cozens avenue, and Albert Rucker, 1124 North Twenty-fourth street, had no cards.

Chicago Tribune
ISSUE CHALLENGE TO SENATOR WHO VOTED

FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
New Orleans, La., May 10.—Because he voted on the senate floor at Washington for universal woman suffrage, Senator Joseph E. Ransdell is the object of severe criticism and a political target for his enemies. The point of contention is that if such a measure is adopted the black women of the South will have the ballot. The radical element is headed by Harry P. Gamble, assistant attorney general of the state, who has issued a pamphlet recalling all the happenings of the reconstruction period and highly flavored with race prejudice. He says: "The white man has never, anywhere, and will never, anywhere, share the government with the black man."

SENATE TAKES UP WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Senator Williams, one of the Bourbon Senators From Mississippi, Seeks to Prevent Enfranchisement of Negro Women and Insults the Race

(International News Service.)
Washington, June 28.—Before crowded galleries, filled largely by women, the Senate this afternoon voted almost unanimously to take up the Susan B. Anthony resolution submitting a constitutional amendment for nation-wide women's suffrage to the States for ratifications.

The practical unanimity with which the Senate agreed to consider the measure indicated that it would come to a final vote without long debate. Both sides were confident and each was still claiming victory when the Senate convened.

Indicative of the interest in the vote, eighty-one Senators were on hand to answer to their names when the roll was called. The presence of many women in the galleries brought Senators out in their most resplendent togger. Nearly all wore their "Sunday-go-to-meeting" clothes.

As usual Senator J. Ham Lewis, of Illinois, was attired in surpassing finery, and set the Senatorial pace. Dressed in a natty blue suit, he arrived early, took a conspicuous position in the center of the chamber and to his feet the moment the Senate convened to suggest the absence of a quorum.

The Senate was literally swamped with petitions for and against the resolution. There was considerable morning business to be disposed of before Senator Jones, of New Mexico, chairman of the Suffrage Committee, could get the floor to take up the suffrage resolution.

Much confusion reigned. Vice President Marshall was kept busy rapping his gavel for order. Finally he discovered that the Senators were the worst offenders in the noise making.

"The chair will not attempt to keep order in the galleries unless the Senate keep itself in order," he warned, and the noise subsided somewhat.

Senator Poindexter, of Washington, was the first to take the floor in advocacy of the suffrage resolution.

The debate was opened by a set speech by Senator Poindexter, of Washington. He declared that many of the excellent policies of the Western states would not have been enacted without woman suffrage. "The hard-headed business men", at first opposed it but now it has met with universal approval in the West.

"The suffrage has not changed the nature of women, as it was predicted," Poindexter continued. "It has

given them power and with it a new dignity. It has not been the horror it was pictured. Our polling places were decent places before women voted and they have become more wholesome since."

Senator Thompson, of Kansas, took up the pro-suffrage argument. He pointed out that both parties had had endorsed the Federal amendment, but he was not allowed to establish this point without much heckling from anti Senators.

"And if you do not pass it today I predict that there will be an endorsement of it in both platforms in 1920," he added. "How can Senators stand against votes for women and yet expect women to give them their votes? I bid them take heed lest they commit an act of political folly."

Senator Williams, of Mississippi, proposed an amendment to prevent the voting of colored women.

"The amendment," he said, "ought to be accepted by every man who is white—I mean racially white, white clear down to the bottom of his gizzard."

Senator Williams warned Western Senators that they would live to regret the day if they did not draw the race line on suffrage.

"There will come a time in our international relations when the people out West will regret they didn't draw the white line," said Senator Williams. "Do you want to let Chinese and Japanese and 'nigger' women vote?"

Senator Brandegee, of Connecticut, condemned Senators who have yielded to pressure, without changing their convictions, and suffragists who seek the enactment of their "force bill" as a war measure.

"Does the senator believe in the fifteenth and sixteenth amendments Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, interrupted.

"I don't know," Brandegee replied.

"I merely wished to call his attention to the fact that he has sworn to support them and that this amendment is necessary to carry out the principle on which they were adopted."

"I swore to support them of course but whether I believe in them is a very different matter," Brandegee said.

Aflutter went through the galleries and all attention was diverted from Senator Brandegee's speech when Representative Jeannette Rankin, dressed in white, entered the chamber and took a seat in the rear.

"I want to tell Senators who expect political advantage through voting for this amendment that they won't get it," Brandegee said. "When the ladies get the vote they will vote as they please."

Washington, June 27.—Threats of a filibuster obstructed action on the woman suffrage resolution in the Senate this afternoon.

Members opposed to the resolution contended that they would not permit a vote on the resolution unless a satisfactory program could be arranged to pair their absentees. Prospects for a vote during the afternoon were slim.

POLITICAL TRADITIONS.

That the political leaders of Southern opinion are preparing for a strategic retreat to first principles is indicated by certain newspaper criticisms of the "new principle of centralization," as it is styled, in connection with the primary election law and the national prohibition amendment.

Under the new Federal elections law, defendants in Michigan were haled before the courts in New York City to be tried for alleged election frauds committed in the State of Michigan. This proceed-

ing has special interest for Alabama Democrats, according to the *Montgomery Advertiser*, which recalls the futile attempts of the National Government to punish violators of the elections law immediately after the Civil War in the courts of Alabama. It asks with considerable pointedness:

Suppose the new theories of centralization had prevailed then, suppose their own people advocated then, as many of them do now, the surrender of the rights of the State and the extension of the Federal power, with its attendant destruction of local self-government—could we have won that fight in Alabama for the restoration of local government, and for the preservation of the integrity of the white man's civilization? Suppose those Alabamians who were brought to trial before such men as Busted and Kiels in Alabama cities, could have been transported to Ohio, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, and tried not only by men who would have been of a feather with Busted and Kiels, but who would have been surrounded at the trial by the intolerant bloody shirt waving Republicans of that period—would they have triumphed in the courts and would we have won our great civil and political victory in the South?

The inevitable retreat to the old and tried doctrine of State's rights to protect the South in the enjoyment of a political ascendancy based on the suppression of the suffrage, is set forth in this specious appeal:

We would urge Alabama Democrats who yet cherish their political traditions, who are concerned over the protection of political and social institutions of his Anglo-Saxon civilization, to watch carefully the signs of the growing storm, and to remember always that the sheet anchor of the white man's safety and supremacy is the principle of the rights of the State, with its attendant law of local self-government.

The simple facts of the matter appear to be that when the South is in the saddle, it wants a centralized government, so that it can control the nation from Washington. When the South is riding for a fall, it wants State's rights to prevail, so that the South can manage its internal affairs immune from Federal intervention or restraint.

Does the *Montgomery Advertiser* realize that moth-eaten political

traditions must give way to the dawn of a world-wide democracy, to be ushered in by the close of the war? Not yet, evidently.

BENNETT FOR UNITY OF COLORED RACE

Ex-Senator Shows That Twelve
Million Haven't One
Congressman.

NEW YORK STANDARD UNION
APRIL 19, 1918
REMEDY IN PRIMARY LAW.

Hold Political Balance of Power
in Large States.

The time has come for the colored race to stand together, ex-Senator William M. Bennett declared last night at a meeting of colored people in Public School 83, at Dean street and Schenectady avenue. He said there were 12,000,000 colored people in the United States, and they had not one Congressman to represent them.

The Irish and Jewish Congressmen stood together in advancing measures for their races, Mr. Bennett said, but the colored race was without a representative, which should not be. He said that in Harlem there were 80,000 colored voters, and for the first time they had been able to elect a colored Assemblyman.

The direct primary law, Mr. Bennett said, gave the colored people a fine opportunity to elect members of their race to office. He said the time was coming when, if they stood together, they would be represented according to their voting strength in all legislative bodies in this country.

"I am especially interested in the colored race," said Mr. Bennett, "as I was raised and educated among them at Nashville, Tenn. I was born in a barracks on the site of Fisk University and attended school there until my sophomore year. My classmates were all colored boys. I know the race, and I know that its members are capable of high education."

Mr. Bennett said he was forty-nine years old and that he had seen the colored people of the South under all conditions. He said most of those of his audience were much younger than he was and that it did not seem possible to them that slavery could have existed in this country.

The colored race had a great opportunity at the present time, Mr. Bennett said, to break into all kinds of occupations, as the war was sending the whites to the battle fields of Europe to fight for America. The colored men, he said, had always been a good fighter and members of the race were among the first to be slain in battle at the beginning of the Revolution and the Rebellion.

"War is a great civilizer," said Mr. Bennett. "The Napoleonic wars abolished serfdom and the Civil War ended slavery. The Kaiser is now trying to run our affairs and his hand has been seen in the sugar and coal shortage. When this war is ended the human race will enjoy a better democracy than it ever had before."

The speaker paid a high tribute to the work of Assemblyman Johnson for his colored constituents and told of a bill that he had introduced which would give the colored people equal rights in all public places. He besought the colored men and women voters to organize their forces to attain political power, and said there were enough of them in Pennsylvania and New York States to have the balance of power politically.

JOSEPH C. MANNING'S

PLATFORM FOR THE

THE PRESIDENCY

9th March 12-7-18
(Written exclusively for The Richmond Planet by Joseph C. Manning, candidate for the Republican nomination in 1920.)

South in the saddle domination of the Federal Government, Southern sectional rule for eight years, is a direct resultant of the recreancy of Southern party leaders of the North is not squarely facing the issue of ballot rights in the South.

When the McKinley administration went into control, following the election of 1896, the Republican Populist fusion movement was being counted out in the South by black belt frauds. Contests from the South, from over thirty districts, were heard in Congress and the facts were established, before the Reed Congress of 1897, that Southern members of Congress were being counted in by stuffed ballot boxes in the black belt counties.

This method not only counted the colored vote falsely, but the returns of these fraudulent majorities were employed to overcome anti-Democratic majorities polled by the revolting white masses. The result of these contests was the seating of the rightfully elected members of Congress. That was all. Although the country as well as Congress, then knew that the Southern Democracy was making a mockery of elections, there was then no disposition on the part of a Republican administration, in full control of the nation, to enact laws to protect voice in government to the people of the South.

I then urged action before the leading Republican organizations of the North and by articles to the foremost daily newspapers of the nation.

Next came the administrations of Roosevelt and Taft. Again the Republican Party held undisputed control. During these administrations the Southern Democracy formulated worked out and set in motion the conspiracy of political repression, known as disfranchisement, to thwart the power of the Republican Populist movement in the South. It resulted in taking the ballot from practically all colored voters and in eliminating more than half the white

It enabled the minority political autocracy to get a strangle hold of constitutional liberty in the South. The administrations of Roosevelt and Taft not only failed and refused to meet the issue of disfranchisement but also frowned upon those Republican Party leaders who urged that Constitutional justice be upheld everywhere in this nation. The facts of this disfranchisement juggling were placed before the party leaders and before the people of the entire country.

I spent a greater part of my time conducting a campaign as against this outrage and, as is known, was heard throughout the North. I forewarned the Republican Party of continued aggression of the Southern Democracy and of the coming into national control of the South in the saddle autocracy. Republican Party leaders oppose now, of course, Southern sectional control of the nation.

The issue, however, is that of the control of the South itself, by those who proclaim "World Democracy" for abroad and are, themselves, responsible for a Hun-like autocracy in some of our States at home. Republican Party indifference to this condition has brought to the Republican Party of the North the direct responsibility for the political aggression, on the part of the Southern oligarchy that has resulted in Southern sectional domination of the Federal Government.

We must do away with either Northern or Southern sectional domination by enforcing "World Democracy" everywhere at home, by applying the constitutional liberty guarantee of the nation in every State alike, and only can thoroughgoing Americanism be established except by seeing to it that all Americans have all rights of all Americans everywhere in this country of ours.

Neither life nor property is secure to a disfranchised people. A people having no voice in government is a subject people. The only protection as against the lyncher is a fair vote and an honest count. Without this there is no protection of safety of life or property rights. Autocracy rule in America is as much to be loathed and denounced as Hun methods in Germany. Lynching in Alabama is as revolting to civilized conscience as Hun brutality in Belgium. Civilization has no place anywhere for those who arrogate to themselves rights which they deny to others. This nation can no longer tolerate a nation that has enfranchised and half disfranchised.

Virginia registered 179,000 men for military service and it was announced that, of that number, only 30,000 were eligible voters under the Virginia system of disfranchisement. Of the 550,000 male citizens of voting age in this State only 150,000 are eligible voters. There are 245,000 whites disfranchised. The South in the saddle Democracy of Virginia nominates 2,350,000 people on an electorate, trimmed down and shot to pieces with outlawry of constitutional rights, that totals just 150,000!

I am determined, as a candidate for the Republican nomination for President, that the American people shall, for once, be confronted with the opportunity of upholding at home those lofty principles of government that this nation has, (and calling many thousands of its disfranchised Southern citizens who as loyally responded as did those enfranchised), fought to uphold abroad. The statement of truth is necessary to the understanding of the situation and to the end that wrong may be righted.

Right is no theme for controversy. Justice is not a matter for dispute. Any party or any citizen must move on a plant that is unworthy of confidence or support if guilty of continued and repeated denial of justice. The party of Lincoln must have the Lincoln spirit in it or else those who believe like Lincoln may finally desert it. Success came, at the last election, as a protest against Southern Democracy. It was rebuke to Southern sectional Democracy and its policies. It would have been a tremendous rebuke had the Republican Party itself been right. It is the duty of Republican voters to put the party of Lincoln on right lines.

JOSEPH C. MANNING.
150 West Thirty-fifth Street,
New York, November 22, 1918.

**COLORED VOTER
SCORES EDGE**

Republican Criticizes Governor's Appointments

**NEWARK N. J. LEDGER
OCTOBER 14, 1918**

The following letter has been received from a prominent colored Republican voter, who criticises Governor Edge for some of the latter's appointments and advocates the election of La Monte for Senator and the defeat of the Republican candidates for Assembly:

Newark, N. J., Oct. 22, 1918.
To the Editor of the Ledger:
Dear Sir—Permit me through the columns of your paper to express a thought as to the men who are seeking to be elected to the high office of a United States Senator and our State Legislature. First, I wish to say I am a Republican, with progressive ideas, as championed by

Colby, Colgate and others who have served the people of this state in the Legislature, and believe this class of men we can best afford to encourage at this time to aspire for positions of trust.

With all due respect to Governor Edge, who was nominated by the machine and office holders of the state to fill the high office of a United States Senator, his record is by no means a recommendation for him to fill the office he now seeks. To show the type of man he is as to the interests of the people, I refer to some of his appointments, among them Mr. Bugbee of Mercer County and Mr. Johnson of Atlantic, whose interest, in my mind, is more that of spoilsmen than the good of the people. And to top this phase of his act, to succeed the late United States Senator Hughes, he appointed Mr. Baird of Camden County, who for twenty-five years, to my knowledge, has been a good friend to the special interest people and opposed to progressive men and policies.

To further show the Governor's interest in the spoilsmen, I attended a hearing last winter in Trenton on Assembly bill No. 8, a measure created more to gratify the wishes of negroes seeking jobs promised by the Governor, and which promise up to then he had not made good.

When one thinks of this special act, championed by Mr. Bryant, who is head of the Department of Labor, who said at the hearing of the act that it was an administration measure, or, in other words, the Governor wanted it. On a whole, I do not think the schemes of the Governor to advance his own political interests were ever surpassed by any one.

Thus, to discourage this mode of procedure in the future, the people of the state would do well on election day to elect Mr. La Monte, who seems to be a man with progressive ideas.

As to the war-time need of our next Legislature, permit me to say further, while I am a negro, I do not believe in too much race agitation in matters that are common and have to do with affairs of government, but, however, it was said at a mass meeting which I attended by one of the men on the regular Republican ticket that he had asked one of the prohibition men how he stood as to Mr. Douglas being on the ticket and he answered that he could not stand for that, meaning he would not run on a ticket with a member of my race. Mr. Douglas is a lawyer of note, and no man at the bar of New Jersey is more respected than he. I am sure if Mr. Douglas had been nominated and elected he would have measured up to the requirements as a representative of the people's best interests.

Let me say that any man at this time, when negroes and white men alike are shedding their blood for world-wide democracy, who dares to draw the color line on a man like Mr. Douglas to fill a position to do service for the people, such as is required in the Legislature, is an undesirable citizen and unfit to hold any public office.

Taking everything into consideration, for the good of our state and nation, I think it would be wise to leave these gentlemen I have referred to at home, and thus prevent a lot of unnecessary trouble that they, with their hobbies, would make. Respectfully, J. E. FISHER.

115 Bleecker street, Newark, N. J.
**SPRINGFIELD N. J. REPUBLICAN
JUNE 5, 1918**

Resolutions regarding the Negro franchise were passed at the 23d annual Atlanta university conference last week. Affirming that the United States has become the spokesman for the democratic governments at war, the resolutions declare that "the practical denial to Negroes of the right of participation in the government under which they live vitiates the principles of democratic institutions." Atlanta university, which has just held its commencement, is to conduct summer classes for the instruction of 120 soldiers of the national army in carpentry, blacksmithing and truck driving. It is of interest that as soon as the school year closed, 50 Negro boys departed for Connecticut where they are to work on the tobacco farms.

Political - 1918

Suffrage

NEWARK N. J. NEWS

SEPTEMBER 11, 1918

Rival G. O. P. Assembly Camps Are Courting Colored Vote

Fighting with the colored vote has become an important part of the strategy of the rival Republican Assembly groups. It began several weeks ago, when the Republican County Committee put George A. Douglas, a colored lawyer, on its Assembly ticket after weeks of discussion, during which John B. Woolston tried to get most of the leading colored organization to agree on one man.

Since then the Assemblymen who defeated the organization last year by running on a local option ticket and are attempting to do it again this year by running on the straight prohibition issue, have been manoeuvring among the colored voters with surprising results.

In fact, they opened their primary campaign before the colored voters Monday night at the Pennington Street Zion A. M. E. Church, where a convention of the Independent and Progressive Voters' Association was in progress. Former Judge Benjamin F. Jones and Assemblyman George S. Hobart were among the principal speakers. Resolutions were passed favoring prohibition. It was also reported by some of those present that the entire prohibition Assembly ticket had been approved, but John T. Cheshire, a member of the Republican County Committee, denies this.

But this isn't all. Last night the Essex County Colored Republican Association met at 21 Nesbitt street and adopted a resolution withdrawing its support from the county committee's ticket, because Mr. Douglas had been given a place on it instead of Hamilton P. Travers. And at this meeting Assemblymen O. Bell Close and Mr. Hobart, two of the men on the prohibition ticket, were speakers. Another speaker was Edward A. Harrigan, one of the independent candidates for freeholder, who is opposing the organization. Mr. Cheshire was present as a representative of the county committee.

The prohibition assemblymen are conducting an active campaign both by appearing at these public meetings and by distributing a mass of literature prepared with the assistance of Rev. James K. Shields, superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of New Jersey.

DES MOINES I.A. NEWS

MARCH 22, 1919

NEGRO CLUB HAS SLATE

FOR VOTERS MARCH 25

For the first time in the history of the city negro voters have put out a slate for their people. The Pan-Des Moines Association has named the following men, which it recommends to all negroes: Mayor, Tom Fairweather. Council, Budd, Frase, Woolgar and Jenny.

This is the first time that Jenney has been hooked up with the old council.

THE NEW REBELLION IN MISSISSIPPI.

The Jackson (Miss.) Daily News in a recent issue contained the editorial which is reproduced below. We reproduce this editorial in full for two reasons: first, it shows that as thick as is the skin of the bigoted Negro hater, it is not so thick that the truth can't get under it; second, it is such a fair sample of the delirious state of mind into which the average Southerner is thrown when confronted by the question of equal citizenship rights for the Negro. Here is the editorial:

OUR SENATORS CRITICISED.

A Negro newspaper edited in New York has a savage attack upon Senator John Sharp Williams and James K. Vardaman in a current issue.

This sheet is fighting for equal social and political rights for the blacks.

It is packed full of sedition every issue.

Its attack upon the two Mississippians was brought about because of their recent utterances upon the enfranchisement of Negro women.

The South will not stand for this step, and as surely as there were dark and bloody days following the Civil War, there will be more darker and bloodier, if the negrophile element of the East insists upon imposing intolerable conditions upon the South.

Perhaps this is no time for a discussion of such things, but momentous events are taking place, and there are suggestions that white supremacy in the South will have to fight for its life after this war.

If it does, Southern millions will rise to aid it.

The world may just as well understand now as later that white supremacy is absolutely necessary in this section of the country. Its only alternative is black supremacy, and that would be a catastrophe beyond words.

The Daily News has tried to help the Negroes of this state in their efforts to better their conditions. It believes firmly in educating Negro children, in providing good agricultural and industrial schools for them, it believes in giving them the square deal in our courts, and in being perfectly fair to them in all dealings.

But no man save he be utterly foolish thinks the South will ever stand for social and political equality of the Negroes, even if this section were to give up every life in it to prevent such an unthinkable condition.

Of course, all of this is the raving of a monomaniac; and it might be thought a waste of time to pay serious attention to it. But there are so many monomaniacs of the same kind in Mississippi, in fact, they are so far in the majority above all other sorts of people in Mississippi, that such utterances demand attention.

Some might comfort themselves with the thought that the sentiments of the editor of the Jackson News are not the sentiments of the better class of white people in Mississippi; there is small comfort in that thought. For though these may not be the sentiments of the better class, they are the sentiments of the dominant and dominating majority. Practically, it makes very little difference to a man whether he is being oppressed by a high brow mob or a low brow mob; that is, if he objects to oppression itself.

We wonder if this Mississippi editor realizes what he is saying? When he says: "The South will not stand for this step (the enfranchisement of colored women) and as surely as there were dark and bloody days following the Civil War, there will be more. darker and

bloodier, if the Negrophile element in the East insists upon imposing intolerable conditions on the South," he is not only inciting to riot, he is talking absolute rebellion.

If the editor of a Negro newspaper, contending for the just rights of his people in Mississippi, made a similar threat as to what they would do if they did not get them, he would be in jail inside of twenty-four hours, charged with inciting the Negroes to riot. But here is the editor of a leading white daily, a man supposed to have more intelligence than a Negro editor could possibly possess, supposed to be a better and more patriotic American, yet this man is publishing words which tend not only to incite riot and bloodshed and the murder of innocent people whose only offense is that of seeking their just rights, but words to the effect that the white people of Mississippi and the whole South would rise in rebellion if the Federal Constitution were amended so as to impose certain conditions on the South.

Of course, this editor is not in jail. Undoubtedly he has received a number of congratulations upon his article from a lot of people whose hearts and brains are no bigger than his. And all of this has made him feel very proud; he feels that he has not only done something to save the great State of Mississippi and the Anglo-Saxon race as well, but that he has also written a strong editorial.

Perhaps around Jackson and throughout Mississippi he does enjoy a reputation as an editorial writer, but we should like to say to him frankly, and we are willing to place our opinion before any impartial board, that as an editorial writer he is in the .22 caliber class; no, less than that, he is of the pop-gun variety. Why did he not answer the criticism against Senators Williams and Vardaman? The criticism of the two Mississippi senators did not contain a single word of abuse; it was simply an analysis of their words and motives. Why does this Jacksonian editor get mad and lose his head? Why, instead of replying with facts and figures, with sense and reason, does he talk about riot and rebellion and bloodshed and murder? The answer is plain: he hasn't got the brains, he doesn't dare to try it, the job is beyond him.

Now let us give the editor of the Jackson News a lesson in editorial writing; we have no idea that he will take it, but we do it to prove that we are willing even to help him make a better showing in any future articles he may write on this subject. Take the following paragraph from his article:

The world may just as well understand now as later that white supremacy is absolutely necessary in this section of the country. Its only alternative is black supremacy, and that would be a catastrophe beyond words.

We won't get mad and call him names because we do not agree with what he says, nor will we call upon the black people of Mississippi to rise up and murder white people. Instead we will use common sense and reason to point out where his statement is weak and false.

What reason is there to say that black supremacy in the South is the only alternative for white supremacy? Can any man believe that government in the South is not possible unless the whites hold the blacks down in subjection, or on the other hand, unless the

blacks hold the whites down in subjection? In this day when the face of the whole world is turned toward the new democracy, is it not more reasonable to think that, even in the South, each individual may enjoy all of the common rights of citizenship without danger to any other individual? The statement of the editor of the Jackson News is a confession that the black people of Mississippi are higher-minded than the white people, for it cannot be said that they have any desire for or even idea of black supremacy; that is, the seeking of power in order to hold the white people down in subjection; they are seeking only participation in the common democracy.

The statement of the editor of the Jackson News is furthermore a confession that white supremacy, at least in Mississippi, does not rest upon any intrinsic worth or merits or fitness, or upon any innate superiority, but upon mere brute force and oppression. It is a confession of the fear that nine million Negroes in the South, if given justice and equal opportunity, would wrest economic, political and social supremacy from the twenty-five million white people of that section. Of course, no such thing could happen and nobody knows it better than the editor of the Jackson News; but we wonder if he does not see that his statement makes him appear to believe in Negro superiority.

If the editor of the Jackson News really felt that the giving of the ballot to the Negro would perhaps lead to the subjection and oppression of the whites in the South, there would be some excuse for his words and his attitude, but the fact that he has no such fear, that he knows that the Negro is seeking only for fair play, makes his attitude base, and makes his words calling for bloodshed and murder nothing less than criminal.

So much for our lesson in editorial writing. Now we wish to say something else to the editor of the Jackson News. He says that if certain laws are passed, the South will see darker and bloodier days than those which followed the Civil War. Let us say that if for any reason whatsoever the lawless element in the South should start a new Kuklux Klan, another reign of terror, they would find that they had a Negro to deal with who would be quite different from the ignorant, superstitious, newly emancipated slave of fifty years ago. God grant that such a time will never come. And we do not believe that such a time will ever come. But if it should come, we agree with the editor of the Jackson News in saying that the days will be a good deal darker and a good deal bloodier, too, than those which followed the Civil War.

South Strongly Opposes

Negro Women as Voters

BY C. C. BRAINERD.

Eagle Bureau.

901 Colorado Building.

Washington, October 1—Fearing a greatly increased negro vote after the war, through the automatic enfranchisement of thousands of colored soldiers, the South continues to remain practically solid in its opposition to national woman suffrage, unless the amendment be phrased in such a way as to permit the States to exclude

to Ben Tillman. They figured that Senator Benet represented a new order of things. When he announced himself against the suffrage amendment they were shocked rudely. But Senator Benet had merely shown himself, on that issue, to be as thoroughly representative of Southern sentiment and tradition as any of his older colleagues in Congress.

It remained for Senator Hardwick of Georgia to put forth in plain terms Southern fears concerning an increased negro vote in the near future, which in some States where the colored population is large, may be a controlling vote. Senator Hardwick, opponent of the Administration, was recently defeated for renomination. Despite that fact, however, he is shoulder to shoulder on this issue with other Southern Senators whose support of the Administration is unquestioned, including such a man, for instance, as Senator Williams of Mississippi. Mr. Hardwick pointed out to the Senate that the great war has automatically enfranchised male negroes in large numbers, as a result of the peculiar legislation adopted by the Southern States, following the Civil War, by which they kept the colored electorate to a minimum that always insured safe white control.

Referring to the reconstruction period in the South and the Federal enfranchisement amendment, Senator Hardwick said:

"The conditions were such in the South that it was impossible to impose or get passed simply a straight educational test for the whole electorate. The South had been impoverished; it had not recovered; it was impossible to pass straight educational tests that were no more than educational tests, because the effect would have been to disfranchise too many white people. That was the actual condition that confronted us and we acted accordingly.

"Therefore, in the constitution of most of the Southern States the language was written that military service either in behalf of the United States or the States, in any war in which the United States or any one of the Southern States had engaged, or descent from a person who had rendered such military service, should qualify a male person to be a voter and to remain on the voters list if he was 21 years of age and was otherwise qualified, even if he did not possess the educational or property qualifications required in the Constitution."

Senator Hardwick thus described those acts of southern legislation which embraced what became generally known as the "grandfather's clause." They are still in the southern constitutions and they have kept the negro vote always within white control. Here is a glimpse of the near future, as sketched by Senator Hardwick:

"Now this war has come on. We have drafted impartially from the

male population of the South, and if amendment I shall then, and then the war lasts long we will draft many only, vote for the constitutional thousands of negroes of voting age in amendment as amended. If so amended the South, who will go into the service it would secure white supremacy of the country under the Stars and the supremacy of the white man's Stripes and to France. When they civilization and his social institutions come back, under our own State constitutions, the only ones we could write under the Constitution of the United States, they come back as full enfranchised as any white voter any one of the States, and they come back exempt from the educational tests and the property tests of the States of the South.

"I say in the utmost of kindness and good feeling toward my fellow on the other side of the chamber we are liable to be treated to a revival of the race question in the and throughout this country far surpass anything we have ever heard at the close of the Civil War. This question is going to be with redoubled force because but impracticable men in the East and West are going to insist after the war is over that the black men of the South who went to France who stood under the Stars and Stripes and risked their lives in their country's cause are entitled to the same rights—personal, political, social and everything else—in the South or anywhere else in this republic that a white man is entitled to. I cannot see the tremendous driving force of the sort of an appeal upon people who have not any considerable number of negroes among them.

"The race question is largely a question of numbers. It is the presence of numbers that makes it vital and keeps it alive. It is all right in your States—it may be—not only to contend for that doctrine but to put it in actual force, although I should not like to see it done even there. But when you go to a State that has a population half black and half white, and in some cases more black than white, and undertake to carry that sort of policy into effect it would be destruction and ruin and worse."

Thus Senator Hardwick set forth very clearly the backbone of Southern opposition to national woman suffrage. No matter what anybody outside of the South may think of it as an argument, it states the facts in the case truthfully and bluntly. Southern fear of possible negro domination is as alive today as it was in the reconstruction period, just as is Southern determination that it shall not come to pass.

Senator Williams was equally frank in advocating his amendment, which would enable the South to disfranchise negro women. Speaking of suffrage for all women, he said:

"If I were a resident of Oregon or of California or of Iowa and the question were presented to me as a State issue, I think I should vote for it. Being a resident of the State of Mississippi, if it were presented to me as a State issue, I should undoubtedly vote against it. * * * If you adopt my

PITTSBURGH DISPATCH
OCTOBER 7, 1918

The South and Suffrage

The refusal of the Southern Senators to accede to the President's request for equal suffrage is generally enough understood to have been based on race prejudice. It found expression equally from Senator Hardwick of Georgia, just defeated for re-nomination by desire of Mr. Wilson as an opponent of his war policies, and Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi, otherwise an enthusiastic pro-war supporter of the Administration. But the sudden revival of this racial agitation is due to new causes not so widely known.

Senator Hardwick, in a speech, laid bare the motives. After the Civil War, he said, the South was unable to establish educational qualifications for the suffrage that would bar the Negro without barring too many white persons. To exclude the Negro, resort was had to a constitutional amendment that military service in behalf of the United States or the States would entitle those unable to meet the educational test to the vote. Now along comes the great war and the selective draft act inducting thousands of Negroes into the Federal Army. When they come back they will be entitled under the constitutions of these very Southern States adopted to prevent them from voting to demand the right of franchise. An equal suffrage bill enfranchising besides both white and Negro women would still further alarm those who have been so zealous in keeping the ballot from the Negro. Senator Williams, indeed, offered to vote for the equal suffrage amendment if it was made to apply to white women only, because the addition of the white women to the white vote would overcome the vote of the Negroes enfranchised by military service.

Thus the war and the suffrage issue are reviving and intensifying Southern opposition to the Negro vote. Yet the South will be surprised and pained if the returning Negro soldiers, having experienced freedom from Southern prejudice, should conclude not to return to Dixie. What would be the effect if they should join the Northern trek, which has been evoking such appeals from the South for the Negroes not to desert their old friends?

TERRE HAUTE IND STAR
APRIL 11, 1918

CLUB ISSUES MEETING CALL

The regular meeting of the members of the Vigo County Colored Republican Club will be held at 8 o'clock this evening in the hall in Ohio street. Business of importance will come before the body and all members are urged to be in attendance.

Suffrage
TROY NY EVE RECORD
NOVEMBER 20, 1918

SOUTHERN NEGRO VOTERS.

If Republicans in the next Congress, as forecasted, attack the practice long prevailing in the south of denying the suffrage to negro citizens, there will be precipitated a fight that ought to have been started years ago.

The congressional representation of certain southern states is out of all proportion to the number of persons actually voting compared with representations of other states. The reason for this is that in the south congressional districts are parcelled out on the basis of population, whereas the voting is confined to white men.

A bill apportioning the number of representatives in each state on the basis of the vote cast and not by population would force southern states to permit the negro to vote, or to find their delegations reduced by about one-fourth.

Politically the Republicans would be justified in making the fight, for the practice of the south is obviously illegal. But there is a much larger question involved. It is nothing less than simple justice to the negro people. Under the Constitution they are granted the ballot; in practice they are denied it. This is not democracy. It is autocracy, or Prussianism, of the worst sort. Therefore, while we are in the business of making the world safe for democracy, we should sweep our own back door step. We have no more loyal citizen than the negro. He is absolutely without a hyphen. His loyalty and sacrifice in the present war entitle him to consideration that he has been denied in the south since the days of the Civil war. It is to be hoped the political fight will be pushed with vigor and that the outcome will be the democratization of southern white men.

DES MOINES IA. NEWS

MARCH 22, 1918

PUGH SCORES PRESENT COUNCIL AT NEGRO MEET

Negro voters heard candidates for council and speakers for both mayoralty candidates Wednesday night at Dreamland hall.

A. D. Pugh, speaking for Hill, reviewed all the charges made against the administration and discussed the tax issue.

J. W. Scott, speaking for Fairweather, branded Hill as the Chamber of Commerce candidate and a labor union obstructionist.

E. A. Elliott, Sam Zion, James J. Conroy and the judicial candidates were present.

"MAKE THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY"

The Atlanta Independent
Whether the proposition is put, "make the world safe for democracy, or democracy safe for the world," the statement will admit of various interpretations. Undoubtedly the proposition has become a popular shibboleth, because the populace understands that it has for its purpose the winning of the war. That democracy means one thing in America for the white man, and a different thing for the black man will not admit of dispute. What Mr. Wilson means by democracy, interpreted in the light of what the Democratic party means by democracy, the Negro cannot tell. What Mr. Roosevelt and the Republican party means by democracy, interpreted in the light of Republican deeds, the Negro understands that it means a representative government—a government of the people, for the people and by the people, administered through the people's chosen representatives.

Our form of government is neither an autocracy nor democracy. The American people are bleating loudest about democracy, and making the principles safe for the world, which is in direct contravention of the genius of our institutions. Our government is republic in form, and is the golden means between autocracy and democracy, which constitutes the best form of government the world ever saw. The black man has naturally fallen into the habit, in common with the white man, of appealing to the people to make democracy for the world, without one time thinking of what democracy, as practiced in this country, means for the black people of this country. In the South, where the bulk of the Negroes live, democracy means a government of white people, for white people and by white people, to the exclusion of all other people. It means a government without the consent of the governed. It means a government that white men, without regard to politics, race, nationality, loyalty or disloyalty to the American flag, alone have a voice in the government and in the selection of the rulers.

The white primary is the epitome of this far-fetched and mischievous doctrine. The white primary permits all white men to vote but excludes all black men; white men may vote without regard to worth, character or fitness, but the Negroes shall not vote, it matters not how well qualified or fitted they are to perform the functions of the ballot. In the South, it is not necessary for a candidate to be a student of economics, industry or any phase of political economy. It matters not whether he is sufficiently intelligent to know the capital of his state or country, if he is opposed to the Negro's enjoying an equality of political, industrial and economic rights, he is eminently fitted to represent our section of the country.

The suppression of the Negro and his exclusion from civil and political rights are paramount to every economic, industrial and commercial advantage of our section.

It is a common thing for the poor white man and, especially the political demagogue, to bellow from the stump that "this is a white man's country; the Negro has a place and he must stay in it; that he is not entitled to a voice in the courts; he is not entitled to equal facilities for transportation; he is not entitled to equal accommodations on the railroad or in public places; he is not entitled to an equitable share of the public school funds." In fact, he must be suppressed; he must be proscribed against, and denied the ballot without regard to his loyalty to the Union, his patriotism or his valor on the battlefield. This fact was demonstrated this week in the Georgian—one of Hearst's orphan sheets—which has no policy except that policy which will serve Hearst, in an editorial headed, "Misguided Opposition to Harris Should Cease."

William J. Harris, you remember, was nominated for Senator in the white primary—not in a democratic primary, not in a party primary, but a white man's primary—a primary which excluded every citizen who was not white. Harris, therefore, is not the choice of the people of Georgia. He is not even the choice of the white people of Georgia. The white people nominated him out of deference to the President's wishes, because the President had personally advised the people that Harris was a man that would do what he, the President, said.

The Georgian's appeal is in the interest of Harris over Mr. G. H. Williams, the Republican nominee, who appeals to all the people in the State without

regard to race or color. It is based on the fact that Harris is the choice of the white people. But this is Pro-German doctrine, which believes in autocracy and stifling the peoples' will. Harris ought to be defeated.

First: Because he is not the choice of the people—he was practically appointed by the President and represents neither the views of white Georgians nor the interests of his State. Had it not been for the backing of the President, William J. Harris could no more have been nominated than the blackest Negro in McIntosh county.

Second: He ought to be defeated because he is incompetent—without views, and does not represent the intelligent wealth or worth of the State.

Third: He ought to be defeated because he in no way represents one-half of the people of the State. His appeal was to the white people of Georgia—not to the people of Georgia—but the white people, which smacks of Prussianism. It is a policy of Prussianism to oppress and suppress the voice of the people. The entire tendency of Prussianism is autocracy, which is a government by birth-right—not by choice.

The Georgian appears to be—as all Hearst's papers are—to all appearances, what Hearst's interest is to Hearst. In New York, it would not insult the Negro by advocating his exclusion from participation in party affairs. It would disdain and throw the full force of its yellow influence against a race primary. But in Georgia it is neither for the democratic party nor the republican party—it is for Hearst. Hearst's papers forget that the Negroes are subscribers—that one-half of its boasted circulation are Negroes, and that its advertising rates are based upon circulation; and if the 25,000 Negroes who subscribe for his paper would resent the insults and odium heaped upon them, its advertising rates would fall one-half, and the Hearst papers would go out of existence. The Negro must learn how to resent insults to the race with the same alacrity and manliness that Colonel Roosevelt and Chairman Hays resented the President's affront to the Republicans of America when he appealed to the American people to return Democrats to Congress as an endorsement of his policy and leadership for effect over the seas.

The Negro will never again submit to the propaganda—"of a white man's country." This is his country in common with the white man; he is bleeding and dying for it, and after the war, when the day of reconstruction comes, the Negro will be reconstructed into the new life of the world—a potent factor in everything that aids to the development of this, the greatest of all countries. He will have a voice in the selection of his rulers, and will be chosen among the rulers to rule. He will have his rights in the world—in politics and in the distribution of public benefits, and will be known as an American—not Negro.

Another "Attack."
In reply to our article "The New Rebellion in Mississippi," which appeared in this column two weeks ago, the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News publishes an editorial a column in length under the caption "Our Largest Problem." We reproduce this editorial elsewhere so that our readers may have it in full.

The article in the Daily News begins by saying:
"A recent editorial in The Daily News called attention to a severe censure of John Sharp Williams by a Negro newspaper published in New York on account of the distinguished Mississippian's stand against the suffrage amendment. * * * The editorial caused the writing of a bitter attack upon the Daily News and the white South in general by one of the editors of the Negro organ."

The Daily News called our original article a "savage attack upon John Sharp Williams and James K. Vardaman," it now speaks of our article of two weeks ago as a "bitter attack upon the Daily News and the white South." We made no attacks in either article; we simply defended the Negro race against attacks upon it made by the Mississippi senators and the Daily News. Our Southern contemporary

(we trust we do not offend the Daily News by speaking of it as a contemporary), should not confound telling the plain truth with making an attack. Yet, perhaps after all the plain truth about the Negro problem in the South is of necessity an attack upon most Southern politicians and newspapers.

The Daily News goes on to say:

"It is a bit out of the usual for a Southern newspaper to dignify such articles with notice, but the Daily News is going to make an exception of this one because the people of Mississippi, and of the South should begin to ponder one of the grave problems that is growing out of this war."

We wish to relieve the editor of the Daily News of any idea he may have that he is condescending when he "dignifies with notice" an article in The Age. For his information we will say that The Age is an old and reputable paper; that it has been published continuously for the past forty years; that it is controlled and edited by men who have not only the best interest of the Negro race, but of the South and the whole country at heart; and, furthermore, that it has a larger circulation than the Daily News, has an equally intelligent clientele of colored and white readers, and has a wider national influence.

Farther on in the article the Daily News says that it has been a steadfast and loyal friend of the Negroes in Mississippi; that it has stood for the proper treatment of the race; that it has fought the iniquitous justice of the peace system; that it has predicted that the attitude of the South would materially change toward the Negro on account of his work in the war; that it has fought for better schools and urged that the colored people be allowed every opportunity to become educated and prosperous; and that it is not a rabid "nigger-hater."

This is a long catalog of friendly acts; and The Age wishes to declare that the last thing it would think of doing would be to attack or speak disparagingly of a Southern newspaper that was friendly to the race. It is always on the anxious lookout for indications of friendship from that source and is always glad to make them known to its own readers. The Age is happier over one Southern newspaper of influence that shows real friendship for the Negro than it is over ninety and nine Northern newspapers of like attitude. But not being familiar with the past acts of the Daily News, can that publication or can anybody blame us for assuming it to be not only unfriendly but inimical to the Negro when we read the sentiments expressed in the editorial in which it replied to our article on the Mississippi senators?

Here is one of the paragraphs from that editorial:

The South will not stand for this step (the enfranchisement of colored women), and as surely as there were dark and bloody days following the Civil War, there will be darker and bloodier, if the Negrophile element in the East insist upon imposing intolerable conditions upon the South.

As we pointed out before, these words are a plain bid for the white people of the South to rise up and massacre Negroes if they are given the benefits of universal suffrage by enactment of the Federal Government. It is very difficult to harmonize these words with any feelings of real friendship for the race.

It is interesting to note that the Daily News itself takes a stand at Senator Vardaman, one of the distinguished Mississippians to whose defense it came in its bloodthirsty editorial. It says:

Nothing is farther from us than to try to galvanize into life the ancient bugaboo that used to be paraded before the people of the state by Senator Vardaman at every opportunity.

But the only lines in the Daily News editorial which seem to us to strike a light are the following:

It is the frank opinion of the editor of this newspaper that the best thought of the South will be necessary for the solution of this problem, upon which the very life of civilization in this section depends.

That is talking with sense and reason. Still the editor of the Daily News makes a serious mistake if in "the best thought of the South" he does not include the best thought of the black South. When he looks the situation squarely in the face, he must realize that it is not wholly a question of what the white people of Mississippi are going to do with the black people; it is equally a question of what the black people of Mississippi are going to do with the white people. Therefore, it is a question which is going to take the best thought of both the white and black people for its solution. The solution must be to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, or it will be no solution.

Reading through this article of the Jackson Daily News, with its protestations of friendship for the Negro and interest in his welfare and development, and yet with its expressions of determination never to allow him to attain the common rights of citizenship, we are curious to know the exact attitude of the paper on the Negro question. Will the editor of the Daily News be good enough to state in clear and calm language just how far his friendship for the Negro and his desire to see him develop and advance go. Will he state just what he thinks the status of the Negro in Mississippi and the South should be, not only now but in the future? Will he state whether the white people of Mississippi want the black people to stand still, to advance, or advance only up to a certain point? And will he state what methods he would propose for keeping them where they are, or for helping them to advance, or for keeping them from advancing beyond a certain point?

The editor of the Daily News may speak as plainly as he sees fit to do and we shall listen to what he has to say; only we shall expect him to back up his statements with reasonable arguments, instead of with talk about violence and bloodshed.

If he did this, we should strive to answer him in the same spirit; and he would find that he was making a beginning at bringing into play the best thought of the South for the solution of this problem.

We cannot close without congratulating the Daily News on the improvement in this latter editorial. We would not be so egotistic as to claim that it was due to the lesson which we read to the Daily News two weeks ago; nevertheless, this latter article is written more nearly in the spirit that compels men to think, to reason and to meet each other half way.

AUSTIN TEXAS STATEMAN
OCTOBER 13, 1918

The Suffrage Situation.

A Washington paper states that some southern Senators argued that woman suffrage would mean the enfranchisement of the negro women of the South. Entirely apart from the merits of the question of how the colored males of the South are at present prevented from voting, everybody knows that the southern whites would have as effectively denied the vote to the feminine members of the negro population.

Basically there were, however, other influences involved in the opposition to suffrage. Many of the men who are against the prohibition of the liquor traffic fought suffrage on the theory that the women would help kill the saloon. But many Senators from New England and other eastern States fought suffrage because they knew they never could be continued in power by the liberal electorates that would arise were women to be given the ballot.

By and large the vote in the Senate against suffrage was the vote of selfish men interested in perpetuating themselves and their system; a more interested in that than in following the leadership of a man of the world prestige of Woodrow Wilson; far more interested in their own fortunes than in the fortunes of America in the eyes of democratic peoples. There were, indeed many who voted against suffrage after a careful study and canvass of the situation. Senator Borah was such a man.

Mr. Wilson's Strength Shown.

But the cloakroom talk usually reveals the differences between sincerity and insincerity, and the Democrats who refused to follow Mr. Wilson's leadership thought they had more to gain in their constituencies than lose. But if the strength of the President can be judged by what he did in Mississippi, South Carolina and Georgia it will not be long before many of the twenty Democrats who voted against President Wilson's war measure will not be seen in the Senate again.

Turning from the Democrats to the Republicans, while it is true that only ten Republicans voted against suffrage, they were of the conservative or stand-pat faction of the Republican. The same reasons that actuated the reactionary Democrats applied to the reactionary Republicans.

ROCHESTER N.Y. POST EXPRESS
JUNE 15, 1918

STATE COLORED VOTERS URGE ACT ON ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

An appeal to congress to support the anti-lynching bill has been forwarded by the executive committee of the Colored Voters Republican Council of New York State. The appeal is signed by Assemblyman E. A. Johnson, of New York, president of the council, and the council's executive committee, composed of John V. Thompson, Rochester, chairman; Katherine Beard, Susie Marse, George W. Derham, David C. Cutlear, Henry L. Smith, A. S. Mayes, W. H. Talbert.

Suffrage

She Declares Negro Problem Is Not Even Good 'Hant' Now

MILNEAPOLIS JOURNAL TRIBUNE
OCTOBER 24, 1918



MRS. GUILF ORD DUDLEY.

Mrs. Guilford Dudley of Tennessee, president of the Tennessee Woman Suffrage association, is working hard to turn in a good senatorial vote from her state on the woman suffrage amendment, soon to come before the United States Senate.

Mrs. Dudley aims the keenest of her darts at the supposed "negro woman vote" phantasy which she contemptuously characterizes as too antiquated to use even as a "hant."

"As to the negro problem, the women of the South feel the time has come to lay, once and for all, this old, old ghost which still stalks through the halls of Congress," says Mrs. Dudley

VOTE "NO" THO' PARTY RE SPLIT

Southern Senators Opposed Suffrage Measure. Even at Cost of Loyalty.

By JUDSON C. WELLIVER.
(Staff Correspondent of The Globe. Copyright, 1918, by J. C. Welliver.)
WASHINGTON, Oct. 2.—As a matter of party expediency, it has proved a dangerous business to make loyalty to the President a test of fitness for public service.

There was a little group of wilful men last year whom it was easy for the administration to denounce because it had nothing political to lose. If Vardaman was wilful, and could be beaten by reason of administration opposition, it would cost the Democratic party nothing, for he was certain to be succeeded by a Democrat. Likewise as to Hardwick and generally of the Democrats among the original wilful twelve.

As to Republicans of that group, it was different; if their obstinate disregard of the majority wish should result in their defeat, it might and likely would redound to the advantage of the party in power.

But the suffrage question reversed the position. The boot is on the other foot, and it seems somewhat to pinch. The President used very strong terms in insisting that he must have the woman suffrage resolution. He placed it on the patriotic ground that it was necessary to win the war; and, as some of his opponents insist, went outside his strict constitutional prerogatives to urge his view on the Senate.

New Group of Wilfuls.

His counsel was rejected by a new group of wilfuls, embracing a third of the Senate, a big majority of them being of his own party.

It is not remarkable that the spokesman of the original wilful dozen, Mr. Cummins, embraced the opportunity to furnish the Senate a cheerful half hour in discussing the new position. Mr. Cummins was a strong supporter of the suffrage resolution, and on that issue, at least, entitled to a certificate of character from the administration. With mock earnestness he chided the men who were opposing the President, and demanded to know if they expected to escape with their political lives. He pointed to the fate of Hardwick in Georgia and Vardaman in Mississippi, defeated for renomination, and their defeats commonly credited to the fact that the President opposed them because they had not stood with him in an earlier crisis.

Senator Cummins's sarcasms were enjoyed by his hearers, though they reminded Democrats that the issue of loyalty to the President in the task of war-winning had had its edge dulled a good deal.

Nebraska's Wilful Pair.

For example, Senator Norris of Nebraska was of the wilful twelve, and in his campaign for re-election is being bitterly attacked for that attitude. Norris is a Republican; his Democratic colleague is Mr. Hitchcock, a Democrat. Mr. Hitchcock publishes the leading Democratic newspaper of the state, and it has not been made very clear how that newspaper

can attack Mr. Norris as a wilful, while Mr. Hitchcock is likewise in a wilful list—though it be made up largely of Democrats. The Nebraska campaign is not unlike some others in this regard.

It is too early to judge political consequences, though Republicans are, on the whole, pleased over what they believe will follow. But it is not easy to get confident Republican prediction that the next House or Senate will be Democratic because of the suffrage situation. Most Republicans, in their confidential analyses, predict that the House will be Republican and the Senate Democratic. Democrats claim both bodies.

What interests the suffragists most is the effect on their movement. Among them is found an uncomfortable feeling that it has been a mistake to line up the south so firmly against the federal amendment. Men who have stood out against it, despite such appeal as the President made, are unlikely to be moved later.

South Held Up Race Question.

The race question was forced into the open, and even against the appeal to party loyalty and to patriotism in the cause of winning the war, the southern Democrats lined up against the resolution, and freely said they could not see the necessity to give the vote to Negro women in the south as a war measure. Mr. Williams protested that no man had more affection for the President, more party devotion, more loyalty to the cause of our country in the war, than he; but he could not discern wherein the hope for a free Poland, a restored Russia, a re-established Serbia would be promoted by giving the ballot to the black women of Mississippi in the local elections of that state.

No matter about the relevancy of value of such arguments, it is a fact that they appeal to the southern people and that the south has in this crisis lined up to support this view, even at the expense of a split in the party.

North and South Line Up.

The division on lines of north against south has been emphasized anew and inside the party, which has the backbone of its strength in the south.

Senator Overman was for a time regarded as one southerner who under pressure of the President's urgencies might yield and support the amendment. But when that suspicion reached North Carolina a group of his close and valued political friends started posthaste for Washington to urge him to stand out against it, no matter what the President might say. And he did.

So the suffragists fear that while the President has been able to make his own position perfectly plain as their supporter, he may have done it in a way that is calculated to solidify the only opposition that can possibly postpone for long the victory of the federal amendment. There will be no serious Democratic split over suffrage, because after all the mainstay of Democracy is southern and the south has said No. But there is concern about the danger of making suffrage more distinctly a sectional question than it has ever been before.

Amendment's Future

Is Greatly in Doubt

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

WASHINGTON, Oct. 2.—With the echoes of suffrage defeat of yesterday still audible, discussion about the Capitol to-day turned to the political effects of the result and to the motion for reconsideration which has been filed by Senator Jones of New Mexico, and which may be brought up after the election whenever the time seems opportune for the women to win.

Although it is currently stated that the amendment will be brought up again after the election, the indications are not favorable for the consideration of the measure again this session. The revenue bill will get little, if any, consideration in the Senate before election, and will take up much of the time of the present session after election.

Will Seek Reprisals at Polls.

Even next winter suffrage will not be pressed unless the votes for it can be counted. This has been announced by Senator Jones. In fact, he did not want to press the amendment to a vote at any time until sure of winning. But the address of the President to the Senate had the effect of forcing a vote. Moreover, the suffragists were insistent on one. They wanted senators on record, so that they could determine in what states to make their chief fights in the senatorial contests.

That the suffragists will work political reprisals for their defeat is expected. The Democratic leaders are apprehensive that they will suffer from it, and are worried lest they lose control of the Senate as a result. On the other hand, the Republicans, who in recent weeks have been sanguine of regaining control of both Senate and House, are more than ever optimistic.

Out for Wadsworth's Scalp.

The Democrats are not alone, however, in their apprehension over loss from the suffrage issue. The suffragists have certain Republican senators marked for defeat if they can accomplish it. Senator Wadsworth of New York is most commonly mentioned. The suffragists say openly they have no intention whatever of allowing him another term in the Senate if they can help it.

Senator Borah of Idaho has been an opponent of the amendment. He is up for re-election.

One effect of the President's address and the bitter discussion of the last five days, as well as the activity of the suffragists in Washington in recent months, has been to increase greatly the opposition in the south because of the color line. Moreover, it creates a genuine doubt whether, if the amendment is submitted to the states, it will be possible to secure ratification for years.

Negro Baptists Indorse

Candidacy of McCormick

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
JUNE 14, 1918
[Special.]—Delegates to the Illinois convention of Negro Baptists adopted a resolution favoring the candidacy of McCormick for United States senator.

BLEASE'S SPEECH TO NEGROES, AS REPORTED IN PRESS, READ BY DIAL

FREEMANVILLE S C NEWS
AUGUST 14, 1918

Laurens Candidate Reads At
Walhalla Accounts Of Al-
len University Speech.

DIAL WELL RECEIVED

Utterances Of Other Candid-
ates Also Applauded by 400
To 500 Oconee Voters.

WALHALLA, Aug. 15.—(Special.)—Different newspaper reports of the speech delivered by Cole L. Blease at Allen University before 400 negroes between the primary and the general election two years ago, when a prospective bolt of the democratic party was being entertained by leaders of the Blease faction and when Blease discussed with the negroes how he had been robbed out of the nomination, were held up to the Oconee county audience here today as a warning to the people of South Carolina. The report of the speech as it appeared in The State, which report was denied by Blease three weeks after it had been delivered, was read by N. B. Dial along with that the negroes made in their own newspapers. The Samaritan Herald. The Laurens county candidate urged upon the people the necessity of registering.

Although Blease had made an earnest plea through The Charleston American just prior to the State convention for the state-wide canvass, he had refused this summer to attend the regular campaign meetings, making a speech at only one of these, and at York, when he was introduced, refused to speak "under the nammer of a partisan Democratic executive committee," and held his own meeting.

Mr. Dial showed to the audience the Blease independent ticket of two years ago, put out by W. P. Beard, notorious Blease leader in the State, now in the Federal penitentiary in Atlanta for disloyalty. The name of Cole L. Blease was at the head of the ticket. Mr. Dial also reminded the voters that instructions as to voting the independent ticket two years ago were published in different Blease newspapers of the State, and Blease himself advised his followers that they were not bound by the primary oath to support the nominee. "I am not bound, unless I see fit to be, nor is any other man bound to support the nominee of the Democratic party as declared by the State Democratic executive committee in the primary held September 12, 1916," Blease said to his following through the newspapers which were supporting him.

The meeting today was attended by 450 or 500 voters, who applauded with much enthusiasm the arraignment of Cole L. Blease because of his war record.

W. P. Pollock said that Blease now with a conscience as accusing as that of Macbeth because of the Pomaria and Filbert speeches was crying, "Out! Out! Damned spot." At no place the senatorial party has been, has the admonition of hand-cuffing of Cole L. Blease to the katser and the sending of the two out into the realms of oblivion brought from the crowd such an explosive burst of applause.

Senator Benet will leave the party for Washington at the end of the week, to take his seat in the Senate for the new man power bill debates. Men, guns, munitions and ships are to be furnished without stint or limit, Mr. Benet says, that the boys may finish the job and come home. He would rather see five million men in the uniform one year than one million in the uniform five years, and he expects to so vote when he gets to Washington. Senator Benet is making a strikingly aggressive campaign. His speeches are eloquent and forceful and he is putting in every moment at his disposal in extra canvassing.

James Francis Rice says he will be keenly disappointed if he does not get the majority of votes in Oconee county, since he was a missionary or teacher in that county two years when he first came to the State. The meeting tomorrow will be in Pickens.

Reports of the speech delivered by Cole L. Blease at Allen university to the negroes between the primary and the general election in the fall of 1916 were published in two papers, The States and The Samaritan Herald. The report in The State was denied by Blease 19 days after publication. The report in the negro newspaper was never denied.

The following report of the speech appeared in The States October 4, 1916:

Cole L. Blease was the chief speaker yesterday at the opening exercises of Allen university, a large negro school in Columbia, despite the protest of Tuesday morning by alumni and former students, who petitioned President Mance and the faculty that the invitation be withdrawn, "as it will greatly embarrass our wives and daughters to have Governor Blease speak to them, since he has spoken so harshly in the courts and on the stump against the virtues of the negro women and the respect and decency of negroes in general."

Mr. Blease made no direct reference in his speech to this petition, but Rev. W. D. Chapell, D. D., bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal church in this State, who introduced the ex-governor as "the strongest white man in the State of South Carolina" and one whose pardoning record had removed all sting in things "said on the stump" was somewhat scathing in his denunciation of those who presumed "to dictate the policies

of a great church." "Who are they, anyway?" Chappelle asked. Then, in answer to his own query, he remarked "They aren't known outside of their own backyard." The harsh things said on the stump, the bishop observed, were noly to tickle the ears of the voters and thereby gain their support.

Bleaze Greatest, Chappelle Says

Ten minutes were consumed by Bishop Chappelle in his speech of introduction, generously seasoned with superlatives.

In asking the ex-governor he had sought, he said, to get the strongest man in the State. He had gone carefully over the records, careers and deeds of the governors of South Carolina, and Mr. Blease, he said, easily held first rank. Several pardon cases, where the former governor, "by a single stroke of the pen, set that negro free," were cited. One of these was that of a 14-year old negro boy sent up for life. The congressional controversy between the negro, Geo. Washington Murray, of Sumter, and a white man, Colonel Moise, of the same district, also was reviewed by the bishop in all its ramifications. Later in his speech Mr. Blease reminded the bishop that it was he (Mr. Blease) who had made Murray the congressman from this State instead of the white man. Mr. Blease was then a member of the canvassing board and cast the deciding vote. "If I had got justice three weeks ago and if the board had been honest," he said yesterday, "I would be the next governor of South Carolina." He had always sought, he said, to do justice to the negro, regardless of his color.

Much speculation had been engaged in by the negroes themselves as to the character of speech Mr. Blease would deliver, but the speaker throughout his discourse spoke guardedly and with moderation. He said he had been misunderstood by the negroes whom he greeted as "my friends." In politics he had always urged that taxes negroes paid should go to the support of negro schools. School boards, he said, chiseled the negroes out of their just apportion when making apportionment for the schools of the two races. Christian citizenship was earnestly commended to the students of the school. "I don't make much profession myself. I have been so hounded, villified and abused that I often go by my own church, refusing to enter, because I know that there are hypocrites and scoundrels at the communion table, who are a disgrace to God Almighty." The students were told to "aim high, tell the truth and to attain the ends of a worthy ambition honestly," and not by slipping books under the desks in the examination room or copying information from their cuffs.

"Never Insulted Women"

Referring to the sentiment in the petition, by inference, Mr. Blease said he had never insulted a "colored girl." "I have never wronged any woman, white or black. Neither have I spoken a word of slander against any woman." A slanderer was denounced as "a most contemptible cur."

The ex-governor's attitude toward convicts was somewhat enlarged upon. He sometimes thought, he said, that all penitentiaries, jails and court houses might be abolished. What was the use for these and the church too, he asked his audience,

that applauded his words with increasing volume and punctured the unfinished sentences often with confirmative comment. An overruling Providence was held up as the mighty avenger of all wrongs, both political and spiritual, and certain political controversies were enumerated to sustain his assertion, the names of those wronged being tactfully withheld.

In urging that the negro students hitch their wagons to a star, the race, just up from slavery, was cordially commended for its entrance into professions and varied phases of commercial life. "You are coming into higher things," they were told. "They can't hold you back despite what I or any other man may say," he said, while the auditorium roared with cheers of approval.

B. W. Mance, president of the university, was reared in Newberry county and the Newberry negro was the choice of Mr. Blease to head the State negro college at Orangeburg when an attempt was made to oust Miller, the president of that institution, during the Blease administration. Mance himself took occasion at the conclusion of Mr. Blease's speech to deliver another laudatory speech in which he recalled the early efforts of Mr. Blease at the Newberry bar, "when Cromer and Johnstone and Schumpert and Welch and the late lamented Pope were the giants in the legal profession there." These had dwindled into the proportions of "mere pygmies" in comparison with Mr. Blease before Mr. Blease was elevated to the governor's chair, Mance argued. The president of the school commended the examples of Mr. Blease and Bishop Chappelle to the students as worthy of emulation. Both, he said, were known throughout the United States and it was only through their zeal and adherence to worthy purposes that they had been able to carve their way through untoward circumstances.

The Samaritan Herald, a negro paper, carried the following report of the same speech:

Allen university opened last Wednesday with about 400 students. Dr. B. W. Mance, the new president, seemed to know his business as though he were a whole term. We as trustees, were hospitably entertained with what the appetite could bear. Bishop W. D. Chappelle, the new bishop, knows his business and performs his duty like a hero. He is his own dictator. Ex-Governor Blease was present and was introduced to speak by the bishop, who preached as follows:

"Mr. President and Board of Trustees: I feel that we are complimented to have one of the strongest white men in South Carolina, in the person of Ex-Governor Cole L. Blease, to speak to this people. In asking the protection for our people, I watched carefully the record of all the governors, and decided on ex-Governor Blease. We want the friendship of our white people. I want money. I am going to ask him for it to help lift up our people. I don't believe that Cole L. Blease will insult my wife or no other colored lady, and more than he would like for any one to insult his wife or any of their white ladies."

The bishop now introduced Colonel Blease, who rose and said in part:

"Mr. President and Members of the Faculty and My Friends: I want to

congratulate you for having such an able Christian gentleman as your president, if his face is black. I have known him from his boyhood and always thought he would make a great man. I would trust my daughter in his hands as well as you are trusting yours. They said that I am against the negro. Nay, I am a friend of the negro. You are robbed out of your rights by the unjust laws of this State. How will the judges and jurors stand before God who will take advantage of a powerless race? What kind of a law has this State that will not allow a negro representation on the jury, or prohibit him of his rights in any way? If this State would give you all of moneys from the tax paid by your people, you would have better schools and longer terms. I am not against educating the negro, but only wanted the taxes of each race set aside for its intermediate purpose. Yes, this State is rotten. They're robbing you out of your rights, but there's a God above that will bring them into judgment. I have never insulted a colored woman. The man that would insult a woman is worse than the darkest cloud that ever held over the firmament. Girls and boys, your character is what God gave you and can never be taken away. But your reputation is what you make it, and what the world says of you. If justice was given me, I would have been your governor today. But it is white people that are stealing.

(Line dropped out). some years ago, and political thieves, but the negro is now out of it, and who is now doing the stealing? I am a Methodist and will never leave my church, but I do not attend, because thieves and robbers are at the communion table and I am not going to associate with them. What is the use for jails, penitentiaries, chain-gangs and the church too. If all of the leaders of the people were righteous, there would not be any use for prisons, for the leaders of the people have caused them to err."

BALTIMORE AMERICAN
JULY 4, 1918

If Women Are to Vote There Must
Be No Color Line Drawn.

To the Editor: Senator Williams, of Mississippi, in the Senate recently offered an amendment limiting the vote to white women only, insisting that the color line must be drawn, not only in the South, but all over the country. This Mississippi gentleman evidently does not take into consideration the fact that thousands of colored folks pay taxes, that they have thousands of their sons in the Army, some of whom are fighting for Uncle Sam in France right at this present writing. Therefore, I venture to state, if the son of a colored woman is good enough to risk his life in war, then that colored mother is equally entitled to vote.

Equal Suffrage, as its name implies, certainly includes all woman-kind, irrespective of color. Hence I justly claim that if equal suffrage is to come, then the colored woman is equally entitled to the same privilege as is the white suffragette, otherwise the word "equality" is spelled all wrong.

Suffrage

PEOPLE'S FORUM

DALLAS TEX TIMES HERALD
OCTOBER 6, 1918
SUGGESTS WAIVING OF
CITY TAX PENALTIES

To The Times Herald:

Dallas, Tex., Oct. 2, 1918.—Tax statements are now being mailed out with notation on bottom of same that they become delinquent October 31, which means that a ten per cent penalty will be added after that date.

It occurs to me that it would be a good idea if our mayor and commissioners would officially announce that they are willing to waive this penalty during the period of the war. This, in my opinion, would perhaps facilitate the sale of Liberty Bonds, and at the same time fulfill a patriotic duty.

Make it as easy as possible for people to "come across" that we may even oversubscribe the quota.

H. E. CROOKSTON.

SAYS STREET CAR

LEAVES CUSTOMERS.

To The Times Herald:

Dallas, Oct. 5.—I seldom register a complaint about any public service, but feel that at this time I have abundant reasons for doing so.

I live about six blocks from the Harwood street car line which ends at Grand avenue. Frequently when the car arrives at the end of the line we are perps from one to two blocks away. The car waits until we have run from a block or a block and a half and get within forty or fifty feet of the car, when it moves off and leaves us.

The conductor may say that he did not see us. But that is no valid excuse, as there is nothing to prevent his seeing us for several blocks if he is looking, which is a part of his duty.

A SUBSCRIBER.

DR. MOTT'S STATEMENT

AS TO CAMP PASTOR ORDER.

To the Editor:

New York, Sept. 25.—The public statement having been made in the press that I am responsible for the recent order of the war department concerning camp pastors, I wish to state that I am in no way directly or indirectly responsible for this order. I knew nothing about it until it had been settled by the war department. I have received communications also inquiring whether the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association has had anything to do with this action of the war department. I have answered these communications, stating unqualifiedly that this organization has had nothing whatever to do with the matter. On the contrary I am sure that it will be found on investigation in the various cantonments and camps throughout the country that the association secretaries have as a rule done all in their power to help the camp pastors in their work.

Let me add that I am a member of what is known as the committee of six, which has during the past year done all that it could to secure action on the part of the government increasing the number of regular army and navy chaplains and likewise to further any plans which would help them. I have been asked whether this committee is not responsible for the recent action of the war department concerning camp pastors and wish to state that such is not the case.

I am sure that those who have through ignorance of the facts held me responsible for the camp pastor order will do me the justice to correct their statements, in order that there may be no misunderstanding regarding

my relation to this matter. My record shows that I have furthered the work of the camp pastors, just as I have always advocated interdenominationalism and not non-denominationalism, believing that the stronger the denominations were the more powerful would be their co-operation in Christian service wherever co-operation was practicable and not inconsistent with conviction.

As for the merger of all war work organizations in one financial campaign, responsibility for which has already been laid, in part, to me, it is only right to say that I opposed the merger abuses. If it is "righteous" for the with all the power at my command until the president decided it should be made, when I loyally accepted his decision and am throwing myself heart and soul into a campaign to carry on a work essential to the welfare of our boys.

I kindly request that you will print this in your first issue, in justice to me, and especially that the because I represent may not suffer through misapprehension.

Sincerely yours,
JOHN R. MOTT.

MAKES COMMENT ON

QUESTION OF SUFFRAGE

To The Times Herald:

Terrell, Tex., Sept. 26, 1918.—The editorial page of Sunday's paper was read with great interest. Of especial interest to me, as a member of the "submerged tenth," was the editorial entitled "Will Negro Women Vote in the South?"

We are in the midst of a great war. We are fighting to make the world "safe for Democracy." All male citizens, between the ages of 18 and 45, regardless of race or color, are required to hold themselves in readiness to answer their country's call. You say, in another editorial on the same page, "Youths below the former draft age went with alacrity to enroll themselves as America's potential soldiers. Matured men above the draft age willingly set down their names as men ready when the country calls." You made no distinction of color in your statement, and in justice you could have made none, for the white youth went to the registration booth with no more alacrity than did the negro youth. The white man of mature age set down his name no more willingly than did the negro man of equal maturity. From time to time I have read in your columns (for I am a regular subscriber to your paper) how the negro soldier is covering himself with glory on the battlefields of France; how he is shedding his blood, not only willingly but eagerly, that "this Hun hellishness" (I quote from another editorial on the same page) might not "go unavenged." From your own columns it could easily be proved that this country has no citizenship that is more loyal than the American negro. You say "Let no man forget the German cruelties." Can the Germans commit any crime more damnable atrocious than the lynchings, the burnings alive, and the other cruelties heaped upon our race in this country? And yet the atrocity of these crimes pales into insignificance beside the greater one of depriving a large portion of the loyal, patriotic and law-abiding citizens of this country of one of their "inalienable rights."

We are fighting, according to one of the greatest of our presidents, "to make the world safe for Democracy." What is democracy? Pasteur says: "True Democracy is that which permits each individual to put forth his maximum effort." T. H. Green, in his book, "Liberal Education and Freedom of Contract," defines Democracy as "the maximum of power to make the best of themselves." And in discussing this same question in the halls of congress, only a few months ago, Representative

M. Clyde Kelly said: "The Democracy we seek recognizes the equal worth of every man, his right to an equal voice in government, and to have a fair chance in the race of life."

If that is Democracy we are fighting for, how can you consistently withhold from the negro the right to have a fair chance in the race of life? How can you in conscience deny us the opportunity, as members of human society, to make the best of ourselves?

Some writes hold that the right to vote is not an inalienable right. You suggest that it is. But whether it is or not, men have bled and died for that right. The right to vote is held so precious and valuable that he who sells that privilege is looked upon with contempt and righteous indignation by the rank and file of loyal and patriotic citizens. The citizen who has neglected to raise his voice in his government at the polls has forfeited the right to so raise his voice against its mistakes and abuses. If it is "righteous" for the American white man to have the right of suffrage, why is it not unrighteous to use the various political tricks and legal subterfuges to deprive the American negro man of that same right of suffrage? In other words, why is it that when it comes to duties and obligations this is our country as well as your country, but when it comes to rights and privileges and opportunities and equal protection of the laws, this is your country and we have no part and parcel in it? Respectfully yours,
G. T. OVERSTREET.

ROBBED OF VOTE IN MISSISSIPPI

1,500 Votes Elect Congressman in District Where 250,000 Negroes are Disfranchised.

INTIMIDATED AT THE POLLS
Politicians Know Why Vardaman and Williams Protest Against Giving Negro the Right to Vote —John Sharp Williams Fails to Revive Old Slavery Issue in Senate.

(BY STAFF CORRESPONDENT OF THE AGE.)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Politicians of both parties find it difficult to keep a straight face when Senators Williams and Vardaman of Mississippi get up in the United States Senate and make bitter speeches against giving the colored American

the ballot. It is a well known fact that were it not for the prostitution of the ballot in the State of Mississippi neither Vardaman nor Williams would be wearing the Senatorial toga.

Only a few days ago the Republicans in the House gladly consented to pass the corrupt practice act, which makes it a Federal offense to "promise, offer or give or cause to be promised, offered or given any money or other thing of value" to any one either to make him vote or withhold his vote or to vote for or against any candidate for Congress. A penalty of \$1,000 or a year in jail or both is provided.

It is expected that a number of Southern Congressmen will be retired when this new law goes into effect; for instance, in one district in Mississippi the Congressman is elected every two years by a vote of about 1,500, because 250,000 Negroes are in his district and only a few white men. Although there are hundreds of colored men who meet all the educational, tax and property qualifications for voters, they have been unable to cast votes because of acts of intimidation.

On the other hand the most ignorant and illiterate white man can vote in Mississippi. A white face is the chief requisite. The color of one's skin is the determining factor on the question of "superiority."

White Women Stand by Colored Sisters.

Last week when the suffrage bill came up before the Senate the white women active in securing the passage of the measure refused to abandon the colored women, paying little heed to the arguments advanced by Southern Senators of the Vardaman brand. There were many Democratic Senators from the North who joined with the Republicans in voting down the amendment offered by John Sharp Williams, restricting the ballot to white women only.

The Washington correspondent of the New York *Evening Sun* quotes the senior Senator from Mississippi as professing friendship for the colored American, but declaring that not in a thousand years should he vote to extend the franchise to the women of the race. "Forceful as he usually is," writes the *Evening Sun* correspondent, "Senator Williams held the close attention of the Senate and even those who disagreed with him entirely about the Negro question were forced to admit that he presented the old argument in a manner that was both logical and convincing."

Then the correspondent makes known how logical and convincing was the talk of Williams by saying: "His amendment got eighteen votes, which just about includes the standpat Senators from the Solid South."

In opening his article about Senator Williams' speech, the *Evening Sun* correspondent writes: "One of the classic speeches of the Senate was delivered during the recent debate . . . was made by Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi in support of his amend-

ment to the suffrage resolution limiting suffrage to white women. It was in all respects just such a speech as might have been heard in the Senate in the old slavery days, but it is the kind that will be heard no more, because the men who knew the slave question are passing and the coming generation knows nothing of these things. It is probable that it will be the last oratorical utterance of its kind, and, as such, probably will have historical significance in the future."

Republicans and Democrats in Congress from all sections except the solid South have been heard to express similar views as the *Evening Sun* correspondent on the passing of the old slave issue in the Senate and House. It is impossible for them to associate war measures of today with slavery, long since regarded as a dead issue.

FOR THE WHITE DEMOCRATS OF ALABAMA.

The Montgomery Advertiser would draw particular attention to the far-reaching significance of the Newberry primary election cases now on trial in New York and on which the *Houston Post* published a comment, which was reproduced in *The Advertiser* of Tuesday morning. We have in these proceedings in which the Federal government, acting under the new principle of centralization, arrested defendants in Michigan, haled them to New York and put them on trial, for alleged election frauds in New York City.

We ask every thoughtful Alabamian, particularly those who supported the cause of centralization in the recent primary, to consider what this would mean to the South.—to the Alabama Black Belt,—if after the new laws proposed in Congress to assume control of State election machinery have been adopted, a Republican President and a Republican Congress should be elected. In the primary in Michigan in which Truman H. Newberry was given the Republican nomination over Henry Ford, certain of Newberry's friends raised and expended the sum of \$176,000 in the campaign in his interest. Newberry himself, who is a very wealthy man, was serving as an officer of the navy, and his campaign was handled by his friends, who were conspicuous in Republican politics in Michigan.

It was charged that certain regulations of primary and elections expenses were violated by the Newberry managers and a number of them were accused of this offense. They were not arrested and arraigned in Michigan for the alleged primary election frauds; they were arraigned before a Federal Court in New York.

We want this fact to sink into the minds of the Alabama Democrat who raised on the traditions of a white man's government and the supremacy of a white man's civilization,—the the man who grew up hearing praised the courage of hundreds of devoted Alabamians who braved the ruthless

government at Washington, directly after the war, which directed the operations of the carpetbaggers in the South, and who went to jail and to the bar of the accused criminal, that they might preserve the integrity of the Anglo-Saxon civilization for which we are today making such immeasurable sacrifices in Europe. The people of Alabama honored these men and they applauded the courage of such men as John Tyler Morgan, Thomas H. Watts and James L. Pugh, who volunteered without fee to stand in the courts of the carpetbaggers and defend the accused Alabamians.

These men were ultimately freed; some were acquitted, a few underwent imprisonment. But they had the priceless privilege of being tried in their own State, and with their own people about them, even though the judge and the prosecuting attorneys were representatives of the government at Washington. By their sacrifice and their devotion, they preserved white supremacy and the institutions of Anglo-Saxon civilization.

Suppose the new theories of centralization had prevailed then, suppose their own people advocated then, as many of them do now, the surrender of the rights of the State and the extension of the Federal power, with its attendant destruction of local self-government—could we have won that fight in Alabama for the restoration of local government, and for the preservation of the integrity of the white man's civilization? Suppose those Alabamians who were brought to trial before such men as Busted and Kiels in Alabama cities, could have been transported to Ohio, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, and tried not only by men who would have been of a feather with Busted and Kiels, but who would have been surrounded at the trial by the intolerant bloody shirt waving Republicans of that period—would they have triumphed in the courts and would we have won our great civil and political victory in the South?

The Newberry prosecutions are not of special concern as mere court cases, but they involve as Martin W. Littleton says, "tremendous principles." We are assured that the Alabamians who voted against the national Federal prohibition amendment need not be reminded of the dangers ahead of us in such centralization of power. We think that the danger signal, now thrown out, should be observed and its meaning understood, by other Alabamians who were willing to sacrifice the previously cherished principle of local self-government and State's rights, that they might increase the number of prohibition victories. We are assured that there are thousands of these Alabama Democrats, who supported centralization, did so, not from any conscientious belief in centralization, nor from any desire to surrender the rights of the State,

but from a willingness to make additional sacrifices in the cause of prohibition. Now, so far as Alabama is concerned, this one issue is settled; the new Legislature, through a majority, has been commissioned to ratify the national prohibition amendment. We would urge Alabama Democrats who yet cherish their political traditions, who are concerned over the protection of the political and social institutions of his Anglo-Saxon civilization, to watch carefully the signs of the growing storm, and to remember always that the sheet anchor of the white man's safety and supremacy is the principle of the rights of the State, with its attendant law of local self-government.

There is on the Pacific coast a lighthouse, which through all fair days and clear nights remains darkened and unlit—a silent dignified monument of safety and security. But when the clouds begin to gather, when the air thickens, the lightning flashes in the distance, the breakers on the rocks below begin to grumble and mutter, the light flashes clear and true, in the lighthouse above—a warning to all the mariners abroad, that danger is about them. We have had a long and happy period of social and political security, but the air is becoming surcharged with electricity, there are some clouds gathering on the horizon, and those of our people—our leaders—who stand on the watch can see clearly that the light house which warns us of our danger is flashing its true and steady beams through the thickening gloom.

Has The South Flopped?

The Montrose
Houston Post.
Hon. Martin W. Littleton, once a Texan, but now a famous advocate of New York, announces his intention to contest the jurisdiction of the New York Federal grand jury, now seeking to investigate the primary election in Michigan in which Commander T. W. Newberry was nominated as the Republican candidate for the United States Senate.

Accompanying the announcement is this statement:

The remarkable Newberry proceeding in New York ought to be attracting universal interest because of the tremendous principles involved. The decision of the courts in this proceeding promises to be of far-reaching effect. It will be well worth watching by the South when the present Congress has just passed a measure giving to the Federal government supervisory powers over the State primary elections at which candidates for Congress, both the House and Senate, are chosen.

But is the Newberry proceeding so remarkable? And why should the South's attention be called to the Federal supervision of elections, which is clearly foreshadowed by legislation already enacted and other measures which may become law very soon.

The Southern States have not been asleep. The absorption by the Federal government of powers once cherished by the

States has not resulted from any insidious process working while the South slept.

The South has actually led in the bestowal of such powers upon the Federal government.

Indeed, so enthusiastic has been the centralistic wave in the South, one might well believe that had the present generation of Southerners lived in 1860 the positions of the sections might have been reversed and that the South would have denounced the reserved rights of the sovereign States.

The present South apparently does not believe in the principle of State sovereignty or local self-government, for which the South of old fought and died.

The Federal supervision of elections is coming in a far more impressive way than is provided for by present laws, for in addition to supervision will be control. There logically must be substitution of Federal for State laws and Federal control for State control—all along the line.

The New England idea, the Ohio idea, the Kansas and the Iowa idea of suffrage will be adopted in preference to the South Carolina idea or the Mississippi idea or the Texas idea, and with the full consent—no, not consent, but insistence—of South Carolina, Mississippi and Texas.

Granted that these new systems are going to affect profoundly the future of the South, and, we may expect, profoundly stir the citizenry of the South, the fact still remains that the logical fruits of the slaughtered sovereignty of the States in the South by the South itself must be accepted without complaint. The Southern bed of centralism the South must lie in, for the South made it.

So there is nothing remarkable about the action of the New York Federal grand jury investigating the Michigan primary election. There is nothing in that proceeding, or in worse proceedings than that when all our political systems shall respond to Federal authority, to require the South's vigilance.

The South has been warned repeatedly. The perils of centralism have been debated. The admonitions of history have been pointed to—all to no avail.

True enough, we may see in time some group of Kansas jayhawkers conducting under the aegis of Federal laws an inquiry into Texas customs and habits. But that sort of thing is what we have been insisting upon and the medicine of our own compounding will have to be taken.

NEGROES VOTING IN THE SOUTH

Advised
Louisiana is in the midst of a new registration of voters. The books have been open for some time. In this State we have a qualified suffrage, education and property. Sometimes we hear it asserted, and we fear it is too often true, that even Negroes who are qualified are prohibited from registering. For this reason we have been anxious to watch the procedure in the registration which is now in progress. To be absolutely fair, our investigations show

that the Negroes in the City of New Orleans are being received at the registration booths without any embarrassment whatever. We do not mean to infer that white men are not aided, as Negroes are not aided in registration, but we do mean to say that when a Negro approaches the registration booth and has the

qualification to fill in his application, that he is forthwith registered and given his certificate without embarrassment. This we know to be true in a number of isolated instances, and it goes to prove that the South realizes that the Negro who is qualified is entitled to vote. The instances that have come to our notice show that the registrar knew nothing whatsoever of the colored men who approached his booth. These men were given applications. They were required to answer a number of specific questions which required a certain amount of intelligence. These colored men were not vouched for by any individual. There was no "pull" used to secure for them "a favor," but as citizens of Louisiana they approached the booth and, complying with the requirements, they were admitted and enrolled and are, as they have been for years, qualified voters upon any and all subjects in the State of Louisiana.

There are two reasons for this statement. First, we want to lift as far as it is just from the powers that be in the State of Louisiana the charge that they prohibit the registration of Negroes. We are frank to say that if any order had gone down from the officials in this city, it is probable that every Negro could have been prevented by some means, fair or foul, from registering. There is a total absence of any such intention in the present registration. On the other hand, we are led to believe that the Negroes with education and property are not only permitted to exercise the right of suffrage, but are welcomed.

The other remark that we desire to make in this connection is that every Negro who can meet the test ought to do so. First of all, in fairness to the State of Louisiana itself, and, secondly, to show the marked progress that the Negro is making and as an evidence of his appreciation of the right as well as the responsibility of suffrage. There are those who claim that the Negro cares nothing about suffrage except what he may get out of it personally, and this charge stands unless the Negroes who are qualified interest themselves in having their names enrolled, thus qualifying themselves to exercise the greatest function of the American citizens, namely the casting of a ballot in the interest of the men and measures that meet his approval.

Political - 1918

Suffrage

TELLS CONGRESS WHY WOMEN OF THE SOUTH ARE EAGER TO VOTE

DALLAS TEXAS HERALD
JANUARY 27, 1918



MRS. GUILFORD DUDLEY AND CHILDREN.

Mrs. Guilford Dudley, of Nashville, Tennessee, president of the Tennessee Equal Suffrage Association, third vice president of the National Suffrage Association, and a member of the National Woman's Liberty Loan committee, was one of the speakers on the federal suffrage amendment before the house committee on January 8. In her able presentation of the southern woman's viewpoint, she said in part:

"I wonder if you have any conception of the intense feeling of humiliation southern women experience when they discover that the greatest opposition to the submission of our federal suffrage amendment to the states comes from southern representatives in congress? More than any women in the world, we have had the praise of words. Our wisdom, our goodness, our courage, these things have been sung to and of us, but when it comes to the faith of deeds, we are beginning to wonder if, after all, some southern men may not consider us less worthy than the women of other sections.

"They have withheld our enfranchisement for two reasons which we for a time accepted—the state rights doctrine and the negro problem. From the state rights ground of opposition the southern men have themselves re-

treated, and we now stand face to face with this bare and ugly alternative: Either our men feel that they cannot trust us with the ballot, or we must feel that we cannot trust their sense of justice.

The Negro Problem.

"As to the negro problem, the women of the south feel that the time has come to lay, once and for all, this old ghost which still stalks through the halls of congress. This phantom has outlived its time, even for what is known in the south as a 'hant.' In the fifteen states south of Mason and Dixon's line, the excess of white women alone over twenty-one years of age above all negro women and men of like age is 1,122,477. There are only two southern states where the negro race is more than fifty per cent of the population. In South Carolina the per cent of negroes, according to the federal census of 1910, was 55.2. In this states voters must be able to read and write, and pay taxes on \$30 worth of property. In Mississippi the per cent of negroes is 56.2, and there voters must be able to read the constitution. The other four states of the so-called black belt also impose an educational test.

"In the eight years since the census was taken, the percentage given has

been materially reduced in both the states mentioned, so that South Carolina claims that there is no longer a preponderancy of negroes. The increase in the negro population in the last decade is 11.2 per cent. The increase in the white population is 22.2 per cent, or twice that of the negro population.

"Furthermore, during the past year alone 75,000 negroes have left one southern state to go north, and 73,000 have gone from three others. In view of this fact, it appears that we might transfer a share of our rather hysterical anxieties with regard to the menace of the negro vote to other states.

"It is true that there are some counties in the south where the negroes greatly predominate. But it is also true that in some counties there is a greater degree of illiteracy, and the educational qualification operates to exclude this vote.

To Cherish Ideals.

"There is no need to fear that the southern men and women of today will not know how to uphold the integrity of their government. We are not living in the reconstruction period, but in the year of our Lord 1918. The horrors of that old period are past, never to be revived. The only possible approach to it might come through the failure to give the white women of the south the power of the ballot. When our husbands and brothers are going forth to fight for democracy, we must not only assume their tasks at home, but we must bear more of the sacred burden of cherishing the ideals of government for which they have offered their lives, in order that their sacrifice may not be in vain."

THE LUNACY OF RACE PREJUDICE.

Feb. 2, 1918

Hatred of the Negro because of the living gods Negro women will he is a Negro does exist among not be permitted to vote in the South, a certain element of white people if by intimidation or fraud it can be prevented.

ple. They would deny him the privileges, rights and immunities common to other men.

They would dehumanize the race and treat it as so much insensate matter. They would deny to us the application of the principles of the Christian religion. They would put us without the pale of government and law and treat us as a mere passivity to be acted upon always but never to act. Such an obsession amounts to a species of insanity. Under its influence reason is dethroned; logic is scouted; common sense is thrown to the winds; even the ordinary instincts of self-preservation are deadened. That this element is held within restricted limits is well. The number of such, we happily be-

lieve, is comparatively small. We are drawn to these reflections by an article appearing in the State Journal of the 18 ult. written by Mr. Alexander Sidney Lanier. He is discussing the proposition for a Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The justice of the measure—whether it is right or wrong—does not concern him at all. He only sees in it the possibility of a recognition of the franchise right of the Negro. From this he pictures direst consequences and utters warning words to the white people of the South. But he is all wrong in his logical region. This is his reasoning:

"We should not forget that the Federal Government will prescribe the qualifications to vote for the Federal officers under this amendment, and will see that there is no abridgment or denial of the right by any State, with the inevitable results of grave clashes between State and Federal authorities, for by the temples

ALBANY N Y JOURNAL
OCTOBER 14 1918
Imperative Need of

a Republican Congress

W. D. Jamieson, assistant treasurer of the Democratic national committee, has sent out a letter which contains the following statement:

"The election of a Republican Congress in November would be viewed as a defeat for President Wilson by our allies and particularly by our enemies. It would be viewed in Germany as a proof of their unwarranted claim that our country is not behind our war President. It would be a source of comfort to the Kaiser and his cohorts."

The United States Senate at present stands 52 Democrats and 44 Republicans, and of the 435 members of the House of Representatives, there are 212 Republicans, requiring a gain of at least six for control.

The policy of the Democratic party in the Congress, in the raising of revenue for the war has been based on the principle of killing the goose that lays the golden egg. Instead of feeding and encouraging industry, it has endeavored to throttle it. That a financial debacle has been avoided is re-

markable. If the fourth Liberty loan is subscribed in full, which at the present moment is apparently doubtful, it will be in spite of the fiscal policy of the Democratic majority in Congress.

The election of a Republican Senate and a Republican Congress would unquestionably mean that the future revenue legislation of the country would be sound, based upon true principles of economics, and not upon the antagonism to the North which has been displayed by Mr. Kitchin in his revenue measures.

The Republican party is so completely behind the administration for the prosecution of the war that it is entirely impossible for that administration to hesitate in its work. The election of a Republican Congress would make absolutely certain that the war would be prosecuted to the bitter conclusion which is involved in the fact of its existence.

Mr. Jamieson's assertion that the election of a Republican Congress would be a source of comfort to the Kaiser and his cohorts is an assumption to which it would be ridiculous to refer were it not for the fact that the election of a Republican Congress would be a notification to Germany that the Congress of the United States knows who our enemy is. It is not the individual who happens to be the German Emperor, but the war spirit and the pride of the German people. It would be a notification to the German people that the object of the war is to make that spirit and pride innocuous in the future.

It is the general belief of those who keep in close touch with the political situation that the next House of Representatives, to be chosen in November 5, will be Republican. The number of seats that it is necessary to gain is only six, and there are fully 40 possibilities of Republican success in districts now represented by Democrats.

Of course it should never be forgotten that the House of Representatives in this American democracy grants to the Southern states a representation in that body which the fourteenth amendment to the constitution declares they should not have. In other words, the Negro voters of the South who are deprived of the suffrage, contrary to the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, are counted for the purposes of apportionment. If the penalty provided in the fourteenth amendment for such deprivation of the franchise were enforced, then there would be no question as to the political control of the next House of Representatives, because the Southern states would be reduced in representation.

There is a chance that the Republicans may also secure control of the

United States Senate. Senator Hollis of New Hampshire, Senator Lewis of Illinois, Senator Thompson of Kansas, Senator Salisbury of Delaware, all Democrats, are more likely to be defeated than elected, and thus to be succeeded by Republicans. This would tie the Senate. There is a possibility that Senator Colt of Rhode Island and Senator Fall of New Mexico, Republicans, may be defeated, but their election is more likely.

On the other hand the Republicans have hopes of electing a senator in Kentucky, in view of the changed political complexion of the city of Louisville; in Missouri, in view of the dissatisfaction with the nomination of Folk; in Montana, in view of the independent candidacy of Miss Jeannette Rankin, and in Nevada, in view of the popularity of Representative Roberts, who is a candidate for senator.

Election day is three weeks from next Tuesday. If a Republican Senate and House of Representatives are elected on that day, the German people will know that the terms demanded by General Grant at Fort Donelson, and General Esperey at Salonika must be complied with. There should be no word of peace until the German army has surrendered.

JUR LARGEST PROBLEM.

Jackson (Miss.) Daily News.

A recent editorial in the *Daily News* called attention to a severe censure of Senator John Sharp Williams by a Negro newspaper published in New York on account of the distinguished Mississippian's stand against the suffrage amendment.

The editorial caused the writing of a bitter attack upon the *Daily News* and the white South in general by one of the editors of the Negro organ.

It is a bit out of the usual for a Southern newspaper to dignify such articles with notice, but the *Daily News* is going to make an exception of this one because it believes the people of Mississippi and of the South should begin to ponder one of the grave problems that is growing out of this war.

Perhaps no newspaper in Mississippi can claim to have been so steadfastly loyal a friend of the Negroes of the State in their efforts to better their condition than this one. Leaders among the Negroes of the State realize this fact.

Few days pass without a request for the publication of some article of interest to the Negroes of the State, and these stories are accorded full space without any hesitation. Negroes who come into the office with them are treated with the utmost courtesy, as they themselves can testify.

Further, this newspaper has always stood firmly for proper treatment of Negroes in the courts. It has fought the iniquitous justice of the peace system, the dollar-deputy, and the fee-grabbing constables for years. It has said often since the war began that the

South's attitude toward the Negro would materially change in these respects by the excellent work of the Negroes in the United States Army.

The *Daily News* has fought, too, for better Negro schools; for the extension of the rural industrial school system so that Negroes may be benefited by it. It has never held with the old idea of oppression, and has urged that the Negroes be allowed every opportunity to become educated and prosperous.

These facts are set forth so that it may be perfectly clear that the *Daily News* is not a rabid "nigger-hatter." It isn't. Its present editor was born and reared in Mississippi, and spent most of his life in the Delta, where he was thrown in constant contact with the Negro. He knows them—the good and the bad in him.

But all these things do not alter the bald fact that the Negro question, almost forgotten as a problem before the present war, is going to be one of the gravest questions the South must solve when peace treaties have been signed, and the world resumes to some extent at least its normal life.

Senator Williams saw one phase of this question when he made his masterly stand against the dangerous Federal suffrage amendment, which, if passed would have enfranchised Negro women. And this is a source of danger that must be watched continuously.

The South has succeeded in disenfranchising Negro men; its efforts to keep the ballot from the women of the race will be infinitely more difficult for, as Senator Williams points out, the women cannot be handled as the men have been.

If both sexes of the race were to be enfranchised, the richest section of Mississippi would be absolutely in the hands of the Negroes, for they far outnumber the white population of the Delta.

Of course, this is a consummation too horrible for contemplation; but it is not impossible. The dunderheads in the East who have no grasp whatever of the Negro problem, and no understanding of the curious nature of the Negro—

RACE RIOTS AND DRAFT MAY DECIDE EAST SIDE ELECTION

ST. LOUIS MO STAR
NOVEMBER 4, 1916

Many Voters in Rural Sections of Rodenberg's District Are in Army.

The East St. Louis race riots of May and July, 1917, and the drafts for the national army are expected to be the deciding factors in naming the next congressman from the Twenty-second Illinois Congressional District.

The Twenty-second District comprises St. Clair, Madison, Washington, Monroe and Bond counties, and

outside of East St. Louis and the Tri-Cities is largely of Teutonic extraction. In many sections in the district English is not taught in the rural schools.

Congressman William A. Rodenberg of East St. Louis is seeking reelection on the Republican ticket. The fact that he voted against the war, the shipping bill, the farm loan act and the war revenue bill and declined to vote for a resolution authorizing national banks to donate surplus funds to the American Red Cross probably would defeat him elsewhere, but his political friends say it will win him votes outside of East St. Louis, Granite City, Madison, Venice, Edwardsville and Collinsville. His support of the McLeMore resolution, which warned Americans to keep off the ocean, also met with favor they say.

On March 3, 1916, in response to a telegram from the German-American Alliance of St. Clair County, urging him to support the McLeMore resolution, Rodenberg said:

"In reply to your telegram, I desire to say that I shall certainly do my utmost to check the president in his autocratic and arbitrary attempt to force us into war with Germany.

"I am unqualifiedly in favor of the resolution warning Americans against taking passage on belligerent armed merchantmen. I have no hesitancy in saying that I regard the president's course as outrageous in the extreme."

Rodenberg was elected to congress in 1916 by 2,507 votes. He lost East St. Louis, his home city, by 1,399, and St. Clair County by 72, but piled up large majorities in the rural sections of Madison, Monroe, Washington and Bond counties, where the Germans live.

However, the race riots of 1917 drove thousands of negroes from East St. Louis. In 1916 about 4,500 negroes voted, the vast majority of them the Republican tickets, and this year there are but 1,500 negro voters on the registration books.

The congressional investigation of the race riots revealed traffic in negro voters. The Miller-Rodenberg political machine was charged with being one of the chief offenders. The tremendous loss of negro votes is not expected to assist Rodenberg.

Since the declaration of war 15,000 boys from the district have entered the service. Of these 7,000 are from East St. Louis. The recruiting of the 124th Artillery and other volunteer enlistments from East St. Louis materially reduced the number of drafted from that city. In the rural sections the number of volunteers was light and the draft heavy.

East St. Louis has always been overwhelmingly Democratic. Wilson carried the city by 3,000. On the other hand the rural sections have and Republican. Consequently the Democrats are expected to gain ground through the draft, as the 8,000 outside of East St. Louis are practically all voters, while the 7,000 from East St. Louis are hundreds of boys under 21.

J. Nick Perrin, a Belleville lawyer, is the Democratic nominee. He has been active in war work, delivering speeches for the Liberty Loan Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., etc. He formerly was city attorney at Belleville.

Marshall E. Kirkpatrick, former mayor of Granite City, is the Socialist candidate for

SUFFS SLAM ANTI STATISTICS ON VOTE IN SOUTH

WHITE RULE WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED BY EXTENSION OF BALLOT, IS CLAIM.

The anti-suffragists, in their effort to terrorize the Southern Senators, have submitted to them a table of statistics purporting to show that woman suffrage in the South would seriously affect white supremacy there.

The table indicates the number of white men and women as compared with the number of negroes in 11 Southern states, including Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas. The statistics show that there are twice as many white men as Negro

men, and almost twice as many white women as Negro women.

The National American Woman Suffrage association, in commenting on the efforts of their opponents, says:

"As an instance of the way in which the anti-seek to help forward the terrorization of the Southern senators, the National Suffrage association quote further from the anti literature this paragraph: 'In the above table it is shown that, while the white MEN outnumber the white women by a quarter of a million, the Negro WOMEN outnumber the Negro men.'

"Put in that way, with those suggestive underscores, that sounds menacing, doesn't it? But go back to the figures, and what do you find? Why, that this outnumbering of the Negro men by Negro women comes to just 7,457!

"From the same tell-tale figures it is likewise apparent that white men comprise 66.4 per cent. of the men electorate in these 11 Southern states, and Negro men 33.6 per cent.; and that if women were admitted to the electorate white women would comprise 64.6 per cent. and Negro women 35.4 per cent.

"In another terrorization drive the same anti statistician points out that the white men voters of these states more than double the black men voters, but that if women be allowed into the electorate the white women will not double the Negro women by 250,000. What are 250,000 votes, more or less, when you have a total of 7,051,920 whites as against 3,708,863 blacks?

That's what you would have with the Southern electorate augmented by women."

"The South is supposed to be very scary about the Negro question," says the suffragist statement, "but we doubt if the scariest Southerner can be induced to think that white supremacy can be endangered by raising the total number of white voters over Negro voters from 1,799,585, where it is now, to 3,343,057, where it would be with women voting."

Colored C. O. P. to Hold Big Meeting for Men of Race

NEWARK N. J. LEDGER
APRIL 6, 1918

The Essex County Colored Republican Association, Inc., will hold a get-together meeting in the New Auditorium, Orange street, tonight in conjunction with a State-wide movement looking toward racial advancement and opportunity. Powell K. Martin of Camden will address the gathering on "The Price of Citizenship" and Hamilton Travis of Orange, a candidate for the Republican Assembly nomination, will speak on "Needs of the Race."

The committee consists of: A. C. Fletcher, James W. Vandervall, A. C. Clark, James H. Beckett, James Allen, Roth Nixon, William H. Jones, R. T. Reed, Moses A. Jones, J. W. Holmes, Frank Hicks, George Peterson, W. Walker, D. L. Thornton, Emery Turner, F. Freeman, P. C. Waters, J. A. Sears, Nathen Pollard, H. J. Brown, Allen W. Sydnor, W. A. Wright, Albert Smith, Walter Foster, George L. Wolfson, G. W. Jones, Alexander Little, W. H. White, John Holmes, James Jackson, Arthur Bright, R. L. Scott, J. Campbell, William Kay, James Monroe, William H. Maxwell, Walter Darden, Oliver Randolph, A. B. Miller, John Pinkman, D. D. Woody, Van Buren Powell, William Mayo, J. W. Hudspeth, L. Richardson, Peter Jones, Louis S. Johnson, Charles Travis, Walter Medley, John Combs, R. H. Foster, C. E. Purnell, John Eubanks, S. W. Thomas, W. P. Burrell and Lewis Biggers.

ALBANY N. Y. JOURNAL
APRIL 15, 1918

NEGRO VOTER'S TO MEET.

A conference of the Negro voters of the state of New York will be held at Rochester May 30 for the purpose of perfecting a state Republican association. Among the speakers will be Simon L. Adler, majority leader of the Assembly, and Assemblyman Edward A. Johnson of New York. Mayor Edgerton of Rochester will also speak.

Political - 1918

Suffrage DISFRANCHISEMENT AT A. U. CONFERENCE

RESOLUTIONS AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY 23rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE DECLARE PRACTICAL DENIAL OF RIGHT TO VOTE VIOLATION OF PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY ENUNCIATED BY PRES. WILSON FOR WORLD WAR—LET'S SAY THIS NEARER SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND PUT IT UP TO U. S. A.—LET WASHINGTON MEET WITH US AT D. C., JUNE 21.

This Conference was held at Atlanta University on Monday, May 27. Mr. La Fayette M. Hershaw treated the subject of the Negro franchise historically, reviewing the work of the Freedman's Bureau and the Reconstruction experiences which led up to the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the Federal Constitution. In 1863 President Lincoln wrote to the Governor of Louisiana suggesting that some of the Colored people might be granted the franchise and making the following prophetic remark: "They would probably help in some trying time in the future to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of Freedom."

See To it that U. S. Constitution is Not a "Scrap of Paper." See to it Now.

Dean Kelly Miller declared that the Negroes' standing by the Government today, even in cases where the Government does not stand by them, was an act of vicarious patriotism and must react to the advantage of the Negro. We have gone to war with Germany to rebuke her for making an international treaty a scrap of paper. We must see to it that the Constitution, which is an intra-national treaty, is not a scrap of paper. The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments may be crumpled, but they are not torn.

The Declaration—World War Brings Democratic Principles to Front.

The Conference rejoices that the world war that is being waged against autocracy by liberty loving and democratic nations has brought to the front the principles of popular rights embodied in all democratic constitutions.

Experience has shown that the full and free enjoyment of popular rights is everywhere necessary because no one class or element can justly govern another without that other's consent and without its participation in government.

In certain sections of the United States where the government is wholly controlled by one element, there occur to the detriment of the other element UNFAIR DISTRIBUTION OF

THE FUNDS FOR POPULAR EDUCATION, MISCARriage OF JUSTICE, FREQUENT LYNCHINGS, AND MANY OTHER FORMS OF INJUSTICE.

In view of the fact that the United States has become the spokesman for the democratic governments at war, to insist that the liberal principles which they profess be universally applied, this Conference submits the following Resolutions:

U. S. A. Spokesman for World as to All Having Democracy—Principles Violated in U. S. A.

First, That Negroes, with all other Americans, should cherish the ideals set forth by President Wilson, among them "the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments."

Second, That the practical denial to the Negroes of the right of participation in the government under which they live vitiates the principles of democratic institutions.

Third, That Negroes, even under existing restrictions, should qualify and vote on all measures affecting the public welfare.

Fourth, That we here express our confidence in the sense of justice and they live vitiates the principles of American people in their attempt to solve the problems of democracy.

L. M. HERSHAW,
G. A. TOWNS,
KELLY MILLER,
T. I. BROWN.

THE WHITE PRIMARY

Atlanta 7-13-18

If there were ever any doubt in the minds of any of the well settled aim and policy of our white neighbors to exclude Negro people from participation in government, that doubt is entirely removed in the light of the White Primary. Nowhere in this country is such a thing as a White Primary except in the south. In other sections they have Democratic Primaries and Republican Primaries, but no such thing as a white primary. It is all right enough that each party should have its primaries in order that men of their political persuasions can vote for the men to be named as their representatives in office; but white primaries can mean nothing less than to invite the solid strength of white voters as against the Negro.

This is contrary to the genius and teaching of the American republic. It is contrary to the Declaration of Independence, which declares that governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed; and that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And yet after two hundred and forty-five years in the American training school as slaves and more than fifty years of freedom, clothed with the rights of

American citizens, our white neighbors in the South try to deprive us of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which declare: "That the right to vote shall not be denied any citizen on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." But in spite of this plain provision of the organic law, to which all state powers must yield, our white neighbors resort to every subterfuge known to chicanery and trickery to deprive black men of their rights.

This seems all the more reprehensible in view of the fact that black men are called upon to help to make the world safe for democracy. Thousands of colored boys are now at the front in France fighting for these very principles which our white neighbors are denying us. They tell us in so many words that only white men can participate in political primaries, that special privileges due only to white men in spite of the fact that Negroes are called upon to perform all the duties required of American citizens. Is this fair play? Is this giving us a man's chance? Do our white neighbors think we are not sufficiently intelligent to recognize the injustice and wrong done us? If so, they are mistaken. The commonest Negro on the turpentine farm and cotton plantation knows he is not getting a square deal. We are denied the full right to the ballot, the right to sit on the jury the right to have an equal voice in the government. It is wrong in principle and vicious in practice and contrary to their own doctrine as handed down from the beginning of this government. President Lincoln once said: "This government cannot remain, half free and half slave." We may with equal truth, assert that the south cannot long remain free when they deprive nearly half of its citizens the right to participate in saying who shall be their rulers. No wonder there is such unrest and dissatisfaction among black people, and it will continue to be so as long as they are denied the plain rights belonging to all citizens.

One of the strangest things occurred here Wednesday, 10th instant. There was a primary election in which only white citizens were allowed to vote. There was also a bond issue pending in which it was desired that \$800,000.00 bonds should be voted for water works, etc. Our white neighbors had prominent men urging Negroes to turn out and vote for the bonds, yet they were denied the right to vote in the primary. It was all right enough for them to vote for the bonds, but they were not good enough

to vote for the men who are to rule them in this city for the next two years. What an outrage! How absurd and un-American! Let our white neighbors be consistent. If they would ask us to sacrifice the lives of our men and boys to make the world safe for democracy, which means all people, let them practice that at home. Let them make the world safe here in the south for these black boy's father and mothers as well as throughout the world!

Chicago, Ill.

The News Star
August 26, 1918.
To The Editor:

Sir, we appeal to you to help us carry on this work and publish the following article in your paper: 9-6-18

You will receive our literature from time to time. We will not have any literature printed until we ascertain the demand for it. There is no use ordering 100,000 copies of the pamphlets which we will distribute when there is a demand for only 25,000 copies. We will order a great quantity of printed matter at one time, thus we can save about 20 per cent on printing. We will also issue a monthly paper. This is the best time to endeavor to enfranchise our disfranchised citizens. After the war it will be more difficult to get the franchise.

THE POPULAR VOTERS LEAGUE.

This league was formed to promote the campaign pamphlet system. The postal vote for absent voters and suffrage for our disfranchised citizens. It is greatly unjust to disfranchise the Negro citizens and give the right to vote to foreigners. In nine states the foreigners who have no citizen papers can vote. The only requirement of the law is that they must declare their intention to become citizens. The argument that the Negroes are too illiterate to vote can't be squared with reason. There are millions of foreign born citizens in the U. S. that have the fran-

chise and can't read and write and can't even speak english. The quarter of million Colored soldiers are not fighting for an exclusive democracy, they are fighting for essential political democracy, which means that they must participate in it.

We will prosecute a vigorous fight for the right to vote when the state legislature meets next January. We must be well organized in every state and circulate carefully prepared and vitalized pamphlets. Help us spread our propaganda among your neighbors. Give them our pamphlet after you read it. Send for our pamphlets. Enclose Three Cents stamp, The Popular Voters League, 1634 18th St., Chicago, Ill.

Yours truly,
The Popular Voters League,
J. Syks.

To Improve Racial Relations
In 1876 when the Democrats re-deemed the South, they appealed to the negroes to join their party, and a minority of negroes, more numerous perhaps than is generally supposed, were the "Solid South" and did valuable service in behalf of respectable government. During the ten years following that time, until the primary election took the place of the convention system in all but two or three of the counties, the Democratic negroes were given political recognition. From Barnwell, Colleton, Orangeburg and Charleston negro Democrats were elected to the legislature and in a number of counties other negroes were elected to such offices as coroner and county commissioner.

With the extension of the primary system a racial line came to be drawn in the Democratic organization and it was made very nearly impossible for a negro to participate in it. An exception in the party law provided that negroes who voted for General Hampton in 1876 and who continued to vote the Democratic ticket in succeeding years be allowed to vote in the primaries, but the rules applying to these cases were in a form so rigid that they reduced the negro Democratic vote to a negligible quantity.

The time has come when under carefully framed restrictions negroes qualified under the law to vote in general elections and who wish to vote the Democratic ticket should be invited to enroll in the Democratic precinct clubs and to participate in the primaries

along with white men. It is neither just nor expedient that a negro citizen of South Carolina be denied the privilege of membership in the Democratic party. In their admission would be no substantial danger to the party. By its danger would be removed. The white males of voting age are now more numerous in South Carolina than are the negro males. The menace of "negro domination" long ago vanished. Were all the negroes qualified by literacy or property-holding, to be registered as voters, the white voters would remain in the majority of three to one.

In the State are thousands of negro men of good character and with a degree of education. They are the leaders of their race. During the war now drawing to an end, they have exhibited not only a patriotic spirit but a sincere desire to cooperate with the white people in the various war activities and to accept their leadership. Many of them, we are convinced, are eager to work with their white friends in political affairs and would do so if they could have the opportunity. Whatever danger might attend their admission would be confined for the most part to municipal elections in cities, where the negro vote is considerable, but in no important town of the State are the negroes qualified to vote relatively numerous.

Not all of the negroes would join the Democratic party. Doubtless some of the better of them as well as most of the undesirables would adhere to the Republican organization, but under existing conditions they are all driven to be Republicans and, feeling that they are political outcasts, the good among them become the victims of conscienceless and depraved white and black leaders.

Let us get it out of our heads that the conferring of political rights includes social privileges. Negroes are customers of merchants and bankers and clients of lawyers and social separation is not in the least impaired. The negroes are citizens under the law and so they will remain. Their disfranchisement, except by lawful provisions, such as those that qualify the suffrage in this State, will be for the future impossible, and that rational men perceive.

If some unscrupulous white man should succeed in leading a number of white Democrats from their party into an independent movement, most of the negroes who could vote would follow him, by reason of their exclusion from the Democratic party. In

that event, the Democrats would be compelled to let down the bars and would seek negro support. They would rally to the white bolter as their political liberator and that sort of liberator in all likelihood would be a vicious politician. Why not forestall the always present menace of a movement of that kind by allowing the better disposed negroes to be Democrats, by giving them a chance to work in politics with their white friends, by permitting them to feel that they are not friendless? Fifteen thousand or 20,000 negroes enrolled in the Democratic party could not possibly do it any harm and they would be a reinforcement against the dangerous division of the whites. These men would have pride in their party affiliation, and the general result would be improved racial relationship.

Finally, the adoption of a form of the Australian ballot plan, which should be and will be perfected, is an almost absolute guaranty against the corruption of the ballot, whether by whites or negroes, so long as the white administrators of the law shall be uncorrupted.

ERWIN'S NAME IN BLACK BOOKS
ALBANY N.Y. CITIZEN
APRIL 2 1918

Negroes Complain of the First A. D. Leader.

Colored Republicans of the First Assembly District have a grievance. They say that Henry P. Erwin, executive member for the district, has ignored them in Congressional fight, in which Mr. Delaney and Alderman Gaynor are participants. Further, they aver that Mr. Erwin did this with malice aforethought, and ascribe his action to the fact that he is a Southern man, and averse to coalition political or otherwise, with negroes.

But hear the plaint of the man and brother from the First District. "Henry P. Erwin, executive member of the First Assembly District, for the first and last time, purposely ignored the Colored Republican Club of the First Assembly District. Mr. Erwin says that he is an organization man and believes in organization; that simply to the white club. He was warned against having such a meeting; but Mr. Erwin is from Tennessee and perhaps would not like to see colored people too strongly organized, and since he could get in touch with three colored men of the Twelfth Assembly District would consent to anything whether

it was for or against them, he pulled off what he thinks for Mr. Gaynor. is a vote-getter. "He may claim that rather than offend anyone, the meeting would be called a Republican mass meeting. Grant that he does. Then why would he form a committee made up of persons from one election district, when there are three districts where colored county committeemen are elected. "These two districts were overlooked as far as the colored voters are concerned. It was a trick in the game. Mr. Erwin may say that he intended to reach every district represented by colored county committeemen. "Then why did he form a committee of five, living in the same block and the other two living in the same block in the same election district. Of the five in the same block, two live in one house and two live in another. Luckily the other lives alone. So it is easily seen what was intended. Mr. Erwin will see that on election day he will need aid from all the election districts and not only the one that supported him, but Hon. M. Dady."

City's Negroes in G. O. P. Now Talking Darkly
INDIANAPOLIS IND TIMES
DECEMBER 5, 1918
Cloud Descends as Another Evansville 'African' Gets Statehouse Job.

Ernst Tidrington, negro, Evansville, Ind., has put it across. He's the messenger for Gov. Goodrich now. The colored politician from the pocket has been officially confirmed in his proud new position of state. And—

There's gloom on the "avenue," Rufe Page has lost his crown and the feudal dusky hordes of the yellow bridge and Yandes street are ready to bury the hatchet and join forces against a common foe—the Ohio river invaders.

For, has not a sacred tradition been most rudely violated?

Since the days of Oliver P. Morton, whom Gov. Goodrich admits he very much resembles, every negro in the statehouse has been from Indianapolis. Now this fellow Tidrington, Lee Pursley and Jame Guthrie, all of African descent, and all residing in Evansville, have been given jobs, and the Indianapolis negroes have been left out in the cold.

Here's the answer:

The announcement of the appointments followed closely after a visit by L. W. Henley, secretary of the republican state committee, to the statehouse.

Henley had just returned from Chicago, where he had conferred with Will H. Hays, national republican chairman and erstwhile state chairman. Mr. Hays is very anxious that Indiana remain in the republican column. But Marion county at present is considered safe, while Vanderburg county, in which Evansville is situated, is considered anything but safe.

Yes, sir, Marion county is safe. But Rufe Page and his satellites rise to a point of order and ask, "Who made Marion county safe?" That's another answer. Whaddaye mean safe?

ALBANY N.Y. PRESS
NOVEMBER 21, 1918
AN ANCIENT EVIL.

After twenty-five years of obscurity the project of changing the basis of congressional representation so as to conform to the vote cast, rather than to the population, is again a live issue. The purpose of such a change would be to deprive the south of its unjust and unwarranted advantage in congressional representation and in the electoral college. In view of the frank and brutal cynicism with which the south, once back in the saddle, has ridden the government for all that could be got out of it, it is not surprising that the issue has been revived.

The question is not hard to understand. Representation in congress is based upon population, but there are some 9,000,000 negroes in the south who are disfranchised. This leaves South Carolina, for instance, where 63,000 votes were cast in the last presidential election, with seven representatives in congress and nine votes in the electoral college, while Massachusetts, casting more than 500,000 votes, has but sixteen representatives. Maine, casting twice the votes of South Carolina, has but four congressmen, and Minnesota, with six times South Carolina's vote, possesses only ten members of congress. Such glaring discrepancies as these could be multiplied without end. The south has been granted for half a century a share in our national councils quite disproportionate to its weight and capabilities.

If congressional representation were to be altered in proportion to votes cast, on a basis obtained by averaging the general vote, Alabama's members of congress would be reduced from ten to three, Georgia's from twelve to three, Louisiana's and Mississippi's each from eight to two, Texas' from eighteen to nine, and Virginia's from ten to four. There would be a like reduction in the electoral college. On the present basis the solid south casts 131 votes in congress, where a liberal computation would allow it but sixty-nine. It possesses, moreover, 157 electoral votes, though ninety-five is all it could reasonably expect.

Both in congress and in the electoral college the country makes the solid south a present of sixty-two votes before a ballot is cast on any topic of national concern. The handicap is too heavy. In the name of common sense and common fairness it should be amended.

All the same, if the south had not insisted upon getting all of its four feet

in the trough, the issue might not have arisen at this time. The north has put up with much from this spoiled child and would still be willing to endure much for the sake of harmony. Sectionalism is exclusively a southern vice. Only when a sectional south forgets to be even moderately square is there the possibility of a sectional north.

As a practical matter, of course, the President will veto anything which the next congress may do along this line. But it will do no harm to have the issue brought conspicuously before the country. The south can escape its operation by adhering to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States—that is, by permitting its people to vote. Disfranchising the population is well enough for the country seems willing to suffer that. But maintaining a strangle hold on the political instrumentalities of the nation, through counting as voters those who cannot vote, is something of a gain. Let this condition be fully exposed, that we may learn what people think of it.

ALBANY N.Y. ARGUS
APRIL 15, 1918

The negro voters of the State of New York will hold a conference at the A. M. E. Zion Memorial church, Rochester, on Thursday, May 30, at 9 a. m., for the purpose of perfecting a State Republican organization for the better protection of the social and political condition of the race. All Republican organizations are requested to attend the convention or to send delegates, and all Republican voters are invited to attend.

The program is as follows: Invocation, Rev. E. D. W. Jones; address, Hon. Hiram H. Edgerton, mayor of Rochester; address, "Sons of Veterans," Hon. Arthur Warren; vocal, "Keep the Home Fires Burning," Mrs. George W. Derham, audience joining in chorus; vocal, "Boys in Blue of '62," Mrs. W. H. Green, Mrs. John G. Lee, accompanist; address, Hon. Edward A. Johnson, New York city; address, Hon. Simon L. Adler, leader of State Assembly; recitation, Prof. Charles M. Van Buren.

At the close of the exercises there will be a parade to the soldiers' monument where a wreath will be placed by the Misses Emily Bennett and Elizabeth Smith. Then the parade will proceed to the Douglass monument.

Political - 1918

Suffrage
NEGRO VOTERS OF
SOUTH CAROLINA

SHOULD REGISTER

A-25-18

Every Negro in South Carolina 21 years of age or above that age should register or use his utmost endeavor to have his name placed upon the registration books of the county in which he lives. He should be insistent and persistent in his efforts to qualify himself under the law for the highest duty of citizenship. The law requires a registration of voters every ten years and the books are now open and will remain open for registration until August 31. No certificate secured prior to the time of the present registration qualifies its holder to vote and unless voters now grasp the opportunity to qualify it may be lost.

The ballot is the greatest protection and strongest defence a citizen has under the American form of democratic republican government. Disfranchisement has been responsible for all the oppression that the race has suffered in many states of the Union and if by their own failure to make an effort to qualify for citizenship the hard and almost unendurable conditions which obtain in some parts of the South shall continue the blame will rest upon the laggard and spiritless men who fail or refuse to show their appreciation or worthiness of the priceless privilege of citizenship and its highest

attribute, the ballot.

It is time to lay aside the too common and worn out saying and belief that it is no use to register or that it is of no benefit to vote. It is the high duty of every man to prepare himself for the exercise of the franchise and no man is worthy of respect or of the ballot who will not take the steps required by law to qualify for its exercise.

Remember that your rights and privileges will never be restored and your lives, liberty and property will never be secure or receive adequate protection until the power and influence which accompanies the right of suffrage is within your reach.

By all means make sacrifice and register. But five weeks remain in which to qualify. Do not allow the golden opportunity to pass.

THE NATIONAL CIVIC LEAGUE.

The Daily Herald
May 10, 1918

The New York Civic League an organization composed of Negroes headed by John M. Royal and formed about five years ago has enlarged the scope of its work and broadened its territory by becoming National in character.

Its aims and purposes are declared to be to restore to the Negro the suffrage in the states in which he has been systematically and illegally robbed for more than 30 years, with the connivance of the courts, the general government and the acquiescence and apparent ap-

proval of the Republicans; and also to thoroughly inoculate the Negro voters with the germ disease of political unrest and disquietude that is the most liberal recognition.

The Negro has lived beyond the period when he can be accounted the ward of any particular party as no party has shown that lively and humane interest in him to which deserving wards are entitled from their guardians. In the South the League will, because of force of circumstances, be aligned with the Republican party, the democratic party in that section being absolutely opposed to Negro franchise and Negro equality before the law.

Nine states were represented in the National organization and it should spread until it covers every community in the United States in which the Negro constitutes any considerable element of the population.

War conditions have aroused the Negro everywhere from his usual lethargy and he is thinking, planning and working as never before, and now, while he is in an active state, is the opportune time to seek to enlist his interest in every movement for his betterment.

The National Civic League with one specific work to accomplish, the increase of political influence and power, and the enfranchisement of the race where disfranchised can co-operate with the N. A. A. C. P. and other organizations for Negro betterment and if supported by the race as it should be will be able to achieve tremendous results for our political advancement.

It should be purely Negro in the ends which it seeks and wisely declares itself nonpartisan. It should hold itself in readiness to align its membership in every state, Congressional Dis-

League will take steps to rap-

idly spread the League in every Negro centre in the country.

NOW IS THE TIME TO REGISTER.

Attends independent
The Independent in season and out has called the attention of the hundred thousand black men over 21 years old, to the importance of registering. It is one of the civic duties of all citizens, white and black; and every man who has civic pride and appreciates his citizenship, will not have to be urged to go to the tax collector, pay his taxes and register; and those who fail to do it are laggards and slackers and unworthy of the great privilege conferred upon them by this government. *3-9-18*

It is to be regretted that there are so many black men who even pay taxes yet fail to register; and when you remind them of the fact and call their attention to the importance of registering as a pre-requisite to voting, they tell you point-blank they are not concerned about it, that they have all they can do to look after their own affairs at home. Now, if everybody was that way, what would become of the government? What kind of men would go into office?

There would be nothing but tyrants, despots, anarchists and cut-throats. It would be all the same to them. It is no exaggeration to state that there are thousands of colored men who do not any more think about paying taxes, registering and voting, than a hog does about holiday. They seem not to have the slightest conception of their duties as citizens.

There is another class who have just become 21 years of age who dodge their taxes and don't register. This tax is known as poll tax, and is not over \$1.00 a year; and we might add street tax also. They make it a point to dodge these taxes and are thereby, unable to register; and being unable to register, they are unqualified to vote. This is the primary cause of the thousands of black men over twenty-one years of age not being able to go to the polls and voting.

It is stated that in some counties in Georgia black men do not have access to the registration books; that they are prevented from registering. We have no doubt but that in some back-wood counties this is true, but they are few and far between. When the real truth is told, ninety-five cases out of one hundred are due to negligence and indifference of our own people, who shirk their duty and have such little civic pride and interest in their state, county and nation, that they willfully neglect to pay their taxes and register. It is a shame before God and man. A man who is so ig-

norant and indifferent and so lacking in race pride as to neglect paying his taxes and registering, is not worthy of the respect and confidence of his neighbors; in fact, he is really unworthy of citizenship. The Independent regrets to state, we have a large number of this kind. Many, too, are thoughtless and wait too late to look up the matter. They don't put themselves to the trouble to read the papers and go to the proper place—the court house, and find out just the proper time to pay their taxes and register, and then express great surprise and wonderment when told they are too late. If they appreciated their citizenship, if they realized the great sacrifices and the rivers of blood which have been spirit on battlefields to give them this inestimable right to the ballot box, they would not hesitate to inquire when the registration books are open, pay their taxes and register like men.

A people who do not do this have no patriotism. A man who would not pay his taxes and register and be ready to vote for the best measures and best men, would desert the flag on the battlefield in time of war. We are now living in the most wonderful age the world ever saw. The eyes of the world are upon us; we must acquit ourselves like men; we must do our full duty, and one of our paramount duties is to pay our taxes, register and do everything else incumbent upon good citizens in the community in which we live. No higher compliment can be paid any man than to say, "There goes a good upright citizen, who pays his taxes, registers, and when the time comes, he goes to the polls and casts his ballot for the best measures and best men." Those who do less than this have not the slightest claim to the name of a good citizen.

If we would live up to the great times in which we live, if we would keep in the vanguard of the Twentieth Century movements, we should see to it that our taxes are paid and that our names are on the registration books.

We take this occasion, therefore, to urge every colored man 21 years of age to wake up to a sense of his duty and show his appreciation of the million who died that he might enjoy the great blessing of American citizenship. No higher privilege can come to a citizen than the great privilege of casting a sovereign vote; it makes presidents and unmakes them; it makes Governors, Congressmen and Senators. They are your servants when you have the right to cast a ballot to elect or defeat them. Then let us, like men, do our whole duty. From this day on, let every black man pay his taxes and register to the end that

when the times comes to pass on great measures for legislation, the electing and choosing of men for office, that we have a ballot—the most powerful weapon a citizen can wield, the palladium of liberty. It is the only way we are going to receive the recognition that is due American citizens; and for this millions of men laid down their lives.

Let us then go to the tax collector, pay our taxes and register, so that when the time comes to vote, we can go to the polls and vote for the best men and the best measures.

New Champion of Negro in America



Katherine Clemmons Gould.

MRS. GOULD DEFENDS RIGHTS OF THE NEGRO

CHICAGO ILL HERALD INDEPENDENCE IS URGED
MARCH 1, 1918

Sees Nothing Unusual Supporting Colored Candidate for Congress.

Katherine Clemmons Gould, formerly Mrs. Howard Gould, arrived in Chicago last night in the vanguard of the National party, which is to hold a convention at the Hotel Sherman next week. Mrs. Gould has been brought into the limelight recently because she spoke in support of the Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom, a negro candidate for Congress in the twenty-first congressional district.

"I see nothing unusual in my speaking at a meeting in support of Mr. Ransom," Mrs. Gould said last night. "We are supposed to be a democratic people. We are quite willing to allow the negroes to go into this war for democracy, to put on the uniform of the United States army and give their lives for our country, but if we are to be a real democracy there is as much reason for permitting a negro to sit in Congress as there is for allowing him to die for his country."

URGES EQUAL CHANCE.

"The English, too, owe much to their colored troops, and they must realize it when this war is over. The war is being fought for one of two things—democracy or graft—and if it is for democracy the black man must have as much as well as the white man."

Mrs. Gould stated that her interest in the colored people was not based on the fact that her people came from the South.

"I myself was born in Illinois," she said, "although my family came from Clemmonsville, N. C. I am interested in the negro because I feel that he has been asked to give and has not been given a square deal in return. I have perfect faith in President Wilson, but I am not so sure of some of the men who surround him."

TELLS PARTY'S AIMS.

The National party, Mrs. Gould explained, is made up of radicals, former Progressives, Prohibitionists and others whose aim is democracy in government, in industry and in international relations. Among the well-known persons affiliated with it are John Spargo of New York, J. G. Phelps Stokes and his wife, Rose Pastor Stokes, and Upton Sinclair.

ESSEX COUNTY COLORED VOTE BEGINS LINEUP

ny Attend Meeting at Pennington Street Church and Hear Stirring Address.

Rev. S. L. Corrothers, President of Colored Voters, Says Voters Must Have Reward.

NEWARK N.J. LEDGER
AUGUST 6, 1918

"Negro leaders must cease to give men or parties credit for what they have won by their own sacrifice," declared Rev. S. L. Corrothers, president of the national and New Jersey organizations of Independent Colored Voters, in an address at a mass meeting at Pennington street African Methodist Episcopal Church last night, which was attended by 400 negro voters of Newark and Essex County.

"The object of this organization, the Essex County branch of the Independent Colored Voters Association, is to create in every community an educational agitation for the procurement of the full civil and political rights of the 12,000,000 negroes of this country," the speaker declared.

"It also is to educate the negro to see that the loss of civil and political power in this country is as much due to the indifference and hypocritical pretensions on the part of the Republican party, which has controlled the negro, as to the opposition of the party supposed to be our enemy."

Should Depend on No Party.

"The leaders of the movement hope to convince the colored Americans of the folly of depending upon any political party any longer for salvation. The future of the colored race, like any other race groups, depends absolutely upon good character, faithfulness to duty and the ability to use our franchise to rebuke our enemies and to promote our friends."

"Any group of negro leaders that would advise we cease our agitation at this time are either intellectual imbeciles or traitors. With 500,000 colored men now engaged in this world struggle and thousands of our brothers and sisters being called to the aid of the government, this is the appointed time for oppressed people to lay before the civilized powers of the earth the wrongs they suffer."

"The time has come for the negroes in every community throughout the United States to rid themselves of an ignorant leadership. The standing of the race and the procurement of their share of the rewards of office in the several communities depend upon the use they make of their franchise. It is the duty of the ministers, above all others, to see that our people be instructed as to the right use to make of their franchise, since they, more than any other group of persons, live by the sacrifice of the common people."

"It is the purpose of this organization to encourage race solidarity, racial confidence, racial admiration and racial ambition. The negro must learn to qualify for position, apply for position and then contend."

Conference In Afternoon.

A resolution thanking President Wilson for his attack on lynch law was unanimously adopted by the gathering.

ing.

In the afternoon an open meeting of prominent representatives of the race was held at the church, at which time a survey of the state was made as pertaining to the political power of the negro in the state. It was brought out there are 65,000 negro voters in New Jersey at the present time, and about one-half of this number are independent.

Candidacy of Governor Walter E. Edge for the United States senatorship was discussed, and the candidacy of George L. Record, Congressman Edward W. Gray, James A. Johnson and Frederick W. Donnelly for the senatorship was taken up in an informal way. It was brought out that Mr. Donnelly, who is a resident of Trenton, is popular with the negro race in Trenton and in this section, as well as in other parts of the state.

Colored leaders will meet Saturday in Trenton, and at that time probably will line up for the men they will back for the senatorial toga. The meeting brought out the fact that the majority of those present favored an independent candidate.

A committee was chosen to take up correspondence with each candidate and ascertainment just how he stands on matters that effect the negro.

COLORED VOTERS WANT DOUGLAS FOR ASSEMBLY

NEWARK N.J. CALL
JULY 14, 1918

At a meeting of colored voters of Essex county at Unity Hall, William and Washington streets, on Monday evening it was agreed that George Douglas, a Newark lawyer, would be a good man to represent the colored race on the Republican Assembly ticket in Essex county. The county committee leaders had promised to put a colored man on the "regular" ticket if the voters of his race would come to an agreement as to who he ought to be.

A. C. Gibson presided over the meeting, at which about 200 were present. No formal indorsement was made, as that would be against the new law, but it was indicated by a vote that Mr. Douglas was the preferred reference of the majority. A committee consisting of W. Fleming, Samuel Dickerson, J. H. P. Young, Henry Rainner, John T. Cheshire, George Foster and Moses Webb was appointed to report the result of the meeting to John B. Woolston, chairman of the Republican County Committee.

"We are out for Mr. Douglas," said Mr. Gibson, "not simply because he is negro, but because we believe he is the man to put in the place. He is a lawyer of ability and is qualified in every respect to fill the place left for us to fill."

*** TIMOTHY M.D. STAN
APRIL 1, 1918

Educate Negroes for Congress.

The Negro National Educational Congress at Kansas City has begun campaign for the election of negro congressmen from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Chicago.

Suffrage

NEW DISPENSATION STRIVES TO CONTROL REPUBLICAN FIGHT

But Old Organization Will Put Up
a Stiff Contest at Tomorrow's
Primaries.
WILMINGTON DEL EVERY EVENING
SEPTEMBER 13, 1918
DAVIS' LEAGUE IN FIGHT

Republican primaries in New Castle county, tomorrow, will be a battle royal between the Old Organization and the New Dispensation. Announcement has been made that Alfred I. du Pont, leader of the New Dispensation, is not putting any money in the primary campaign, but there is a suspicion that someone is "greasing the Independent machinery." It is said the Voters' Non-Partisan League, of which Edward M. Davis is president, will be Alfred I's "club" at the primaries. To the Old Organization and the Republican Harmony Committee, Davis is a "thorn in the flesh," and to the former, especially, it is galling to have to knuckle to Davis.

So far as New Castle county is concerned, the Old Organization regards Davis as a "political carpet-bagger," he being a recent "import" from Milford, and Organization men say he is a "political novice." Complaints against Davis for "pernicious activity" have been made to Alfred I. du Pont by the Old Organization leaders and the Republican Harmony Committee, but the only response is said, has been, "let Davis settle the grievances." Predictions of political trading were numerous today.

NEGROES ARE ACTIVE.

Negroes have been active this week going to the Public Building, the Young Men's Republican Club and the Voters' Non-Partisan League headquarters for orders—and for whatever use may be forthcoming.

The polls will be open tomorrow from 1 o'clock in the afternoon until 7 o'clock in the evening.

PREDICT ROBERTSON VICTORY.

There will be contests in the First, Third and Fifth districts. For the senatorial nomination in the First district James W. Robertson, Thomas Peeney and State Senator James B. Hickman will be contestants. It is predicted that Robertson, aided by the Voters' Non-Partisan League, will win, and it is expected that Peeney will weaken Hickman, dividing the vote.

In the Third district, Warden Humphreys, "dry," and George Watson, "wet," will contest.

There will be a triangular fight in the Fifth district, with John G. King, "dry," John Richards, "wet," and William Vantine, "neutral," contesting.

PUT OUT ON A TECHNICALITY.

For Representative nominations there will be but three contests—William Lyons, Jr., and Andrew Cole contesting in the Second district, Representative Henry C. Downward and Sheriff Theodore W. Francis in the Third, and Roland Davis, W. S. Gregg and Lewis C. Cloud in the Seventh. Walter Rash started out to be a contestant against Jacob Shieffele in the First district, but the New Dispensation, it is said, would not allow the placing of Rash's name on the ballot. Rash's certificate was mailed at Camp Dix, Wrightstown, N. J., September 3, and should have been delivered in Wilmington September 4, the last day for filing certificates; but it did not reach the executive committee until September 6. The New Dispensation opposed Rash's candidacy, notwithstanding the envelope containing his certificate was postmarked September 3.

LEVY COURT CONTESTS.

There will be contests in the Second and Fourth Levy Court districts. For Levy Court nominations James Keenan and Albert Stetser will contest in the Second district and Benjamin F. Dickey, Walter Fanning and Delaware Wright in the Fourth. The Voters' Non-Partisan League will oppose Keenan because he refused to withdraw. Keenan's withdrawal was proposed, it is said, as an inducement to Stetser's friends to support Isaac R. Brown for renomination for register of wills. Dickey will be strongly supported by Benjamin A. Groves, retiring commissioner in the Fourth district.

AGAIN THE "NON-PARTISAN" LEAGUE.

The contest for the nomination for register of wills is likely to be the hottest. Julian C. Walker will be opposed by the Voters' Non-Partisan League because he refuses to withdraw in favor of Isaac R. Brown, despite alleged threats to "sacrifice" Dr. L. Heisler Ball, the Republican nominee for United States Senator.

FOR RECORDER OF DEEDS.

There will be an interesting contest between Furman G. Cole, a young Republican, and James Logue, a veteran politician, for the nomination for recorder of deeds. Young Republicans are clamoring for official recognition, and the probabilities are that Furman G. Cole will win.

Indications point to Joshua Crossland defeating Reuben Hall for the nomination for sheriff.

Thomas K. Parker, Isaac W. Bullock, John Levy and George R. Cheney will contest for the nomination for coroner.

LEXINGTON PAPER GIVES RACE

SOME SAGE ADVICE.

Lexington, Ky., May 27.—The Lexington Leader recently carried an editorial Colored men should read and ponder. It says:

The American Negro and His Future. The Leader has recently published, in two installments, a statement from the Negro Civil League of Lexington relating to local, State and national affairs which indicated that the members of this organization have been giving studious and intelligent consid-

eration to problems which affect not only their race, but all of the races of which our Nation is composed.

If the Negro is to take that position in the citizenship of this country to which some of the learned men of the race aspire, he must get away from the fallacies which have to a large degree controlled him for fifty years and acquire a deeper and broader conception of certain underlying and fundamental principles of manhood's estate.

First speaking from the standpoint of a Kentuckian, since there has not been in Kentucky any abridgment of the right of suffrage because of color or previous condition, it can be stated as a fact that for twenty-five years there has been a steady decline of the influence which the Negro originally exerted on the political life of this Commonwealth.

For twenty-five years after the civil war the Negro was reliably Republican. His vote could not be bought. Hence he was a recognized quantity in the party to which he gave his allegiance and to that degree was by the opposition political organization looked upon as a standing menace to its claim to uninterrupted power.

Gradually, however, the Negro of the new type, and the older one who had succumbed to the vices from which to a great extent slavery had protected him, began to sell his vote as readily as thousands of his white brothers had for years sold theirs. This evil grew until the Republican party leaders in many localities could no longer regard the Negro vote as a certainty. The result was inevitable. The sin was visited upon the race as a whole and the political influence of the Negro almost if not entirely, disappeared.

Another thing. Too often in politics the Negro has mistaken the shadow for the substance. If he could be a "delegate," wear a badge and march up close to the music, he was satisfied. It did not occur to him that it would be infinitely wiser to stay at home and study and develop mind and character which would enable him intelligently to participate in his party's counsels and thus merit that profound respect and standing which becomes a man of thought and action.

Character, not color, makes men great. A man becomes a measurable or a dominant factor in civic, political and spiritual life of his age just to the degree that he is capable of exercising and enjoying the rights and the opportunities of progressive citizenship.

In the changing social and commercial fabrics of our Nation following this great war there will be a rich field of endeavor and reward for every man and woman, but, more than ever before, merit and individual worth will weigh heaviest in the balances.

The Negro, with the record of thousands of his youth fighting in the trenches beside the sons of his white neighbor, will come forward and say, "If we owed our country our lives, and if we freely gave to this civilization the richest of our life's blood, certainly we are entitled to enjoy some of the rewards which this civilization confers upon its constituent units."

Yes, indeed is this true. But influence and standing cannot rest upon artificial supports. As it has been said a man cannot lift himself by his boot straps, neither can he, whether white or black, speak with commanding authority in any assemblage whose language he does not understand, regardless of the degree of loyalty which he displayed during his country's hour of peril.

The Negro Civic League has the vision of the seer. It should find counterparts in every city and town in Kentucky. The submerged Negro, like the submerged white man, must learn the difference between the tinsel and the gold; that knowledge, not mere numerical strength, is power, and that he who would be first among men must be strength, is power, and that he who would be first among men must be competent to serve all men.

In that way usefulness, prosperity and contentment lie.

ST. LOUIS MO STAR NOVEMBER 5, 1912 A Negro's View.

Editor of The St. Louis Star: I hereby desire to set forth the negroes' unequivocal demand for decent polling conditions in St. Louis. There must be no intimidation of any class of St. Louis' electorate. The election laws of our municipality were framed to ward off the detestable event that seems to be casting its shadow before it in St. Louis today. Those who are privileged under the constitution of the U. S. A., to execute the right of franchise, are duly sworn as to their qualifications as electors. It is very important, therefore, that no one register who can not thus qualify under oath, and if such has been the case in St. Louis, the negro himself regrets it as seriously as anyone.

We maintain, however, that the negro is not wholly to be blamed. Were polling conditions better in St. Louis, that is, there were more negro judges and clerks in precincts where the great majorities of negroes register, these detestable di-

lemma would be averted; because negro judges and clerks would be exceptionally interested in the welfare of their brother citizen of color, to the extent that they would, as a protective weapon against race criminality and fraudulent ballot box stuffing, urge strict qualifications for electors. In many cases it has been found that the judges and clerks are to be blamed, but I desire to go further than the petty officers and lay the blame at the feet of the "higher ups," when it comes to fraudulent negro registration; for, an appointment from their hands along the line referred to above, would have gone a long ways toward mitigating the baleful effect that has come upon the city within the past week.

According to the election law, there is a time allotted for persons who desire to file charges against supposed illegal registrants. Notices are then to be sent out and unless the accused elector produces further proof of his qualifications in a specified time, his name shall be stricken from the list. Such has been done in St. Louis and now comes the protest of Democrats and their friends to recanvass the registration returns. Doing so we disrupt the conditions provided by the law for registrations. It becomes a reprehensible and untoward precedent because it does not leave the law of our municipality to take its course.

According to the law the remaining alternatives to prevent illegal voting, which will unearth illegal registration, are identification and challenge. When the Democrats, Church Federation, Dry Alliance or anyone else break over the law, they become detrimental to the community and lower the public appreciation of the fundamentals of our city. I can see no difference in a howling mob taking the law into its own hands and an organized mob preventing St. Louis election law from taking its course, for they both seek the persecution of the negro. Their aims are the same, the method is but camouflage. An aristocratic mob strikes at the foundation of American institutions as well as "howling, disorganized hoodlums" and Americans who are now fighting for real democracy must not tolerate "mobocracy." The negro feels that there must not be a single qualified elector intimidated, there must be an orderly course of the law, there must be a precedent established in St. Louis, and we must be put on the right side of the ledger as 100 per cent Americans, ready to back up the institutions of an enlightened democracy. We stand for decent elections and a just fixing of responsibility in case of fraud.

J. L. CASTON,

Pastor Olivette Baptist Chapel.
Food Problem an Issue, Say Demo-

crats — Reconstruction After
War a Big Question, Con-

tend Republicans

SEPTEMBER 27, 1918
This is a news and information col-

about the new York campaign. We invite all readers to send questions relating to issues, records of candidates, and other subjects of political interest. The issues involved in district contests and the qualifications of local candidates will be thoroughly gone into.

Conducted by

ALICE RIGGS HUNT.

Three important issues of the State campaign have been enumerated in the Voter's Column. Others which the State chairmen consider most important are outlined to-day, and, in a measure, they are vital to every citizen.

Edwin S. Harris, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, thinks the food problem a great issue, and that the Republican Administration has failed to solve it, having appointed a farmers' committee of twelve with ten city men upon it. The Democratic platform in its declaration of principles calls for "rehabilitation of the State's agricultural establishment to the end that it may produce more crops and less politics."

George A. Glynn, Chairman of the Republican State Committee, contends that the Republican party should be in power when the war reconstruction period arrives, because, in his opinion, it met the situation effectively after the Civil War. The Republican State platform does not directly allude to the period after the war, except to advocate a league of nations.

U. Solomon, acting State Chairman of the Socialist party, said that the fourth issue, in his estimation, was the preparation of the workers for the new fraternity of labor—democracy in Government, democracy in industry, democracy in education, during the war as well as after the war. The Socialist State platform demands free public instruction in higher and professional education, academic freedom, compulsory education to the age of eighteen, free text books, and laboratory materials and so forth.

Party Principles.

N. P. asks—What is the fundamental difference between the Republican and Democratic party principles?

Answer—There is little if any fundamental difference in principles of the Democratic and Republican parties. The difference between them is one of method.

Why Called Workingman's Party?

M. S. asks—Why is the Democratic party thought to be more of a workingman's party?

Answer—Because as far back as the year 1789, when our Federal Constitution was drawn, the forerunners of the present Democratic party (then called Republicans), led by Thomas Jefferson, espoused the independence of the States (and indirectly the masses in the States) as against the Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, who lacked faith in the ability of the

masses to govern, and therefore urged a strong centralized government, or showed a tendency to subordinate the State to the nation. Thomas Jefferson seemed to convince people that he represented their interests and fought for the restriction of the Federal Government to foreign affairs, while Alexander Hamilton continually advocated more and more Federal control of the State. Jefferson frequently asserted that majesty came from the people alone. The people seemed to be further convinced that the commercial and Puritanical interests were with the Federalists, while the farmers supported the Jeffersonians. This was so firmly planted in the public mind during Jefferson's two Administrations, from 1801 to 1809, that it still clings to the descendant of the then Republicans—namely, the present Democratic party.

Campaign Expenses.

E. W. asks—What has been the average annual campaign expenditures for the last five years of all the parties?

Answer—There is no way of finding the exact figures out without months of research. Campaign expenses have been the target for all parties against each other during campaigns and during the last twenty years after numerous widely exploited "scandals" there has been much prohibitory legislation. The Democratic and Republican funds in 1916 were \$1,006,283 and \$2,445,421, respectively.

Negro Women's Vote.

B. A. S. asks—What steps are being taken by the women of the various States to safeguard the franchise to colored women?

Answer—The National American Woman Suffrage Association has worked for the enfranchisement of colored women equally with white women, and necessarily all of its auxiliaries in the individual States adhere to this policy. The enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution was circumvented in many Southern States by the "grandfather clauses" in their election laws, which have been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. I think all reform organizations are working for enforcement of the law. In New York State the negro woman is protected in her right.

Children of Citizens.

L. F. asks—Are children naturalized through their fathers taking out naturalization papers, or must they individually take out papers?

Answer—Yes. Children under twenty-one years are citizens of the United States when their fathers or mothers become citizens. Every child born in the United States is a citizen regardless of the parents' nationality. The child must be under twenty-one when the father or mother takes out citizenship papers, otherwise the child must take out individual papers if not born in this country. If a child's father dies unnaturalized and the mother marries another man who is a citizen, the child (if under twenty-one) becomes a citizen because the child attains the citizenship of the mother, who gets her citizenship in this case through her second husband.

CHAIRMAN WILL HAYS AND THE RAINBOW OF WHITE REPUBLICANISM IN THE SOUTH

The Daily Herald
It is reported that at the meeting of the Republican National Committee which has been called for January 10th the subjects of serious discussion will be the consideration of an invasion of the solid South by the organization.

If Chairman Hays plans to attack the solid South as a mere strategic movement in order to divert the enemy and conceal from them the territory in which the battle is really to be fought it would indicate good generalship and the result will no doubt be gratifying because successful. But if Chairman Hays and the leaders who are counseling him to this course really believe that the South offers any sort of field for securing white converts who will remain converted long enough to vote the Republican ticket on Election Day they are doomed to disappointed hopes.

The Southern electorate is as rankly and intensely Bourbon today as it was in the fifties. Then it demanded absolute loyalty to and support of the institution of Negro slavery; today it demands the absolute acceptance and support of the principle and practice of Negro disfranchisement and the subordination of every essential right of the Negro to that of the white man. Unless Chairman Hays and the Republican party is ready to adopt the principle of "White Supremacy" with all the hellish oppression which it includes, as the foundation upon which the party rests it cannot make any substantial gain in the Reconstructed states of the South.

The white voters of the South under the lash of the race agitator with his cry of "Negro domination" will accept no half measures. Lily-white Republicans have tried for twenty-five years to seduce the white voter by refusing to permit Negroes a voice

in the party's councils, but their failure to stand squarely and openly for Negro disfranchisement and absolute "white supremacy" was regarded a half measure and resulted in failure. It has been the dream of optimistic rainbow-chasing Republican leaders to achieve the unachievable in breaking the "solid South." But has proved in every effort an iridescent dream, the pursuit of a phantom of hope.

There are two and only two courses open to the Republican party in dealing with the disfranchising states of the South in any serious endeavor to build up a substantial party composed of white men; one is to turn its back upon the foundation principles of the party and join with the Democratic party in full accord and agreement in nullifying the War Amendments and complete and make permanent the destruction of the civil and political rights of the Negro; or take an aggressive stand for justice to the Negro and, as well, to the white voter of the North by securing the passage of laws restoring to him the right of suffrage.

So long as the belief remains fixed in the South that the white men of the nation sanction the deprivation of the Negro of a voice in his own government the race issue will be the chief issue and "Negro domination" and "social equality" the rallying cry of Southern politicians and Southern white voters will answer the call, frequently against the impulses of their better nature, to destroy the bogie of "Negro domination" and "social equality" and the South's solidarity will remain unbroken.

When the Negro is again reinvested with the rights of citizenship, however, and the white voter realizes that equality of rights and equality of opportunity harbor no perils for the civilization or social customs of the white man he will bow to the inevitable and will be found in time joining with or leading Negroes as Republicans or inviting them to join with them as Dem-

ocrats in working as good citizens for the up-building of the state.

Any other plan for breaking the solid South will prove vain and futile and will result in disaster to the party.

NOV IS THE TIME TO REGISTER.

12-25-18
You'll secure your share in the world's democracy only when you qualify to vote in the precinct where you live. It matters not how much education you have; how many Bonds or War Savings Stamps you have bought, or how much you gave the Red Cross, or United War Drive, if you are not a qualified voter—you have no share in the world's democracy for which our boys went "over the top." The fact that your son gave his life that all men may be free, will avail you nothing if your name is not on the roll as a voter somewhere.

You may be a preacher, teacher, doctor, lawyer or gentleman, but if you are not a voter somewhere in America, you are a thing, a sham and a fraud, wearing the livery of a man. In our city it is the dray-hand, ditcher, plow-hand and common laborers who qualify to vote and not the educated gentleman and professional man.

When it comes to manhood, the educated Atlanta Negro makes a poor showing; he is a negative character that rather seem than to be.

If you want to vote, you must register under the Georgia law six months before election, and now is the time—the books will be open until May 1, 1919, and your name will not be counted unless you write on the roll.

NEGROES FOR REPUBLICANS

Largely Attended Conference of Colored Voters Indorse Coolidge, Weeks and Others *BOSTON MASS TRANSCRIPT*
OCTOBER 29, 1918.

More than seventy-five negroes, representing every city in Massachusetts, endorsed resolutions presented by John W. Schencke, to ratify the nominations of the Republican candidates to be voted on Nov. 5, at a conference held at the Hotel Melbourne on Tremont street last evening. The conference placed itself on record against disfranchisement, lynchings and unjust discriminations on account of race and color and against a party of established discrimination, believing that with 400,000 colored Americans fighting the battles of democracy they must share the fruits of democracy. It declares the responsibility of the colored citizens demands the election of Senator Weeks, to offset John Sharp Williams, and Calvin Coolidge in the governor's chair to keep Massachusetts right on the color question. It urges votes for the Republican candidates for Congress and the whole State ticket.

Wherein War Amendments Differed From Others

Editor The Advertiser:

Profound and fundamental is the difference between the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, the reconstruction amendments, on the one part and the other fourteen amendments on the other.

The reconstruction amendments carry with them powers of legislation; each one closes with a section that gives Congress power to enforce it by appropriate legislation. No such clause was attached to the first twelve amendments nor to the last two.

Why? Right there lies an important tale. The first twelve and the last two carry with them no new power; they only establish a new way of doing an old thing.

The reconstruction amendments were intended to establish new rights and to give new power to enforce them.

One set rely for their enforcement on the powers that Congress has expressly or impliedly under the original instrument; the second set must have new powers for their enforcement. One set makes no change in the original instrument; the other set seeks new methods of enforcement. One leaves the police power of the State untouched; the other seeks to lessen that power.

This statement should be kept in mind by every voter who is considering the question as to how he shall vote in the next election.

Fourteen amendments seek to enforce fairly powers already granted; the other three seek to give new powers.

Reconstruction.

Let us consider history for a short period. I quote from Fleming; a book that in the present juncture should be read by every one who will vote in the coming election and who wants to vote with intelligence. And it should be the duty of every one to do both.

After Appomattox, after the death of Lincoln, President Johnson proceeded with the reconstruction of the seceding states as he thought Lincoln would have done.

Naturally the State government fell immediately into the hands of the military forces of the Union; they took possession of the conquered territory for the purpose of restoring law and order according to their ideas; and this occupation continued until July 14th in 1868 when the task of "Reconstruction was finished in the State and had the commonwealth in the hands of the scalawag, the carpetbagger and the negro for their misrule of six lamentable years.

And attempts were soon made to restore civil government in the State. In pursuance of such idea the President appointed Lewis E. Parsons, of Talladega, provisional governor. This was done on June 21, 1865. An election was soon called to choose delegates to a convention that should make the Constitution of the State conform to the new condition of affairs in the Nation. It adopted the old instrument with few amendments and adjourned on September 30th, 1865.

Provisional Restoration.

Soon an election was held for governor

and members of the legislature. R. M. Patton was elected governor. The legislature met on November 20th and the executive office was surrendered to Patton on the 20th day of December. On December 2nd the legislature ratified the 13th amendment that confirmed the abolition of slavery; an existing fact that time and fate had already decreed.

This restored government was purely provisional in its character; the real government was in the hands of the President and his soldier-appointees. The most important personage in the government was George Wager Swayne, of Freedman's Bureau fame. If you do not want your blood to boil with anger, do not read about him; that is all.

The 13th amendment was submitted to the States on the first day of February, 1865, and became a part of the National Constitution on the 18th day of December of the same year.

The next step in reconstruction was the submission of the fourteenth amendment to the States; which was done on the 16th day of June, 1866. Let us examine it for a few minutes.

It contains five clauses. To the first clause there is really no objection; it is in complete accord with the first ten amendments.

The second clause sought to force the State to adopt negro suffrage by a threat of reduction of representation if the privilege of voting was restricted for any cause except participation in rebellion or other crime. This threat lingers with us yet and will come up for enforcement whenever the Democratic party loses its control of the Nation, when new ideas prevail in Washington, when the South divides on national issues.

The third clause was the most objectionable. It disqualified nearly every white man in the State from holding office "for participation in insurrection or rebellion against the United States or for giving aid or comfort to their enemies."

The fourth clause validated the national debt and invalidated the debts the seceded States had contracted for the war on their side. It is needless to be more particular as to this section.

The fifth and last clause gives Congress power of legislation.

All readers are referred to the amendment which is found in the code; which every justice of the peace has. It is best for the voter to read it as I am forced to compress my words into as small a space as possible; which I plead in excuse of any important omissions that I may make.

Governor Patton's View.

This amendment came before the legislature at its session in the month of November, 1866. No one then thought it was beneficial in its nature. Let us see what Governor Patton says of it in his message to the legislature. On this point he said that it was an ex post facto law and contrary to the whole spirit of modern civilization; that such a mode of dealing with citizens charged with offenses against government belonged only to despotic tyrants; that it might accomplish revengeful pur-

poses but was not the proper mode of administering justice; that adoption would vacate nearly all the offices in the State and that such governments would be completely broken up and reduced to hopeless and utter anarchy; that the disabilities imposed by the test oath were seriously detrimental to the interests of the government; that the ratification of the amendment could not accomplish any good to the country and might bring upon it irretrievable disaster.

The President, Parsons and a host of citizens were opposed to ratification. Swayne was in favor of ratification and he brought over to his view Governor Patton though such action would incapacitate him and almost all white people from suffrage. Let us look at his reason for the change:

"Look the situation square in the face. Only two or three thousand people, himself included, would be deprived of office. To oppose Congress would be to ruin the State, to territorialize it. There were men in Washington who were already working to be made provisional governor under the new regime."

If the State had followed the prescience of Patton and adopted the fourteenth amendment the country would never have had the fifteenth.

But the legislature defeated ratification by a vote of 27 to 2 in the Senate; 69 to 8 in the house. They were right in the light that shone upon their path. They saw clearly what would happen; and it happened anyway. The States did not take kindly to the amendment; there much opposition to the policy came up. So the radicals under the lead of Thad Stevens determined to get outside of the Constitution what they had formerly thought they could get only by amendment. On March 2nd, 1867, over the veto of the President, the first of the reconstruction laws became operative.

The war for the Union had been successfully made on the theory that the State could not get out of the Union by secession; that such act was simply void and could not change the status of the commonwealth. That theory and the consequent mode of reconstruction had failed. The State was now to suffer the ills of reconstruction by act of Congress and government by the military subject only to the freaks and fancies of radicalism. The new system fell on April 1st, 1867, in the hands of General Pope and proceeded apace. Under him the registration of voters took place as directed by the act of Congress. The result was 104,518 negroes and 61,295 whites. This shows how completely the Congress and those who administered the act had disfranchised the whites.

In October an election was held at which were elected delegates to a new constitutional convention to make such an instrument as would be satisfactory, not to the people of the State, but to the people in Washington.

This "Black Crook" convention met in Montgomery on the fifth day of November. It established in the State the rule of the carpet-bagger. There were one hundred and one delegates. Of these eighteen were negroes and thirty-seven or thirty-eight

were foreigners to the State. Only two conservative delegates were elected. The carpet-baggers were in control. The convention made the constitution of 1868. It was submitted to the electorate at an election held on February 4th, 1868; at which time were also chosen officers for the county, the State and the Nation. Registration was continued to February 1st, 1868. At that time the lists showed seventy-five thousand whites and ninety-five thousand blacks. Under the law of Congress the instrument could not be adopted by an election in which a majority of the registered vote failed to participate. The whites determined to attempt to defeat the constitution by abstaining from voting. The majority did not participate; so under the law the instrument was defeated. But Congress admitted the State and brought it in in spite of the law it had itself prescribed. Let us note what Thad Stevens said:

"Congress had passed a law authorizing Alabama and other waste territories of the United States to form constitutions so as if possible to make them fit to associate with civilized communities; that the House had foreseen difficulties about requiring a majority vote and had passed an act to remedy it, but the Senate had let it lie for two months; that he knew he was outside of the constitution which did not provide for such a case; he wanted to 'shackle the whites in order to protect the blacks'. Under the law the State was admitted into the Union as soon as the legislature should ratify the fourteenth amendment. This was done early in July and the military authorities removed Governor Patton in that month and delivered the State to the negro, the carpet-bagger and the scalawag for their misrule of six years.

This legislature was composed of (Senate) 32 radicals and one democrat and (House) 97 radicals and three democrats. Only Pike, Crenshaw and Cherokee returned democrats. In the Senate was one negro and in the House 26.

Time nor space permits me to give an account of what that body did. It is sufficient to say that their actions almost bankrupted the State and compelled the people to redeem, by force, the commonwealth from the rule that Congress had imposed upon it.

Such was the result that flowed from the suffrage right that came by Congress; the evil fruition of the revengeful provisions of the fourteenth amendment.

"Lest We Forget."

To one who studies the history of the period in the fruitful pages of Fleming the idea of another experiment in suffrage and another era of government by Congress become abhorrent.

But the opposition says that no such results will come of their efforts. What guarantee, what bond have we to secure the promise? If we yield and permit the amendment to be adopted and ill results follow, how can we get three-fourths of the States to return to the status quo ante? On the contrary we have it in Holy Writ that the thing that hath been is the thing that will be. Let us follow that word and hold yet a while to human liberty and the faith of the fathers. And let us read the story as Fleming tells it to us.

"Lest we forget, lest we forget."

Very truly,

W. H. TAYLOE.

Uniontown, Alabama.

FILIBUSTER HALTS SUFFRAGE VOTE

Senate Supporters Mark Time

Because of the Absence of

Johnson and La Follette.

NEW YORK TIMES
SEPTEMBER 27, 1918

RACE QUESTION ARISES

Senator Williams of Mississippi

Moves to Bar Negro Women

from Voting in the South.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 26.—Owing to a filibuster of the suffrage supporters, the Senate today failed to reach a vote on the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Constitution. All day the debate went on, with the anti-suffrage Senators eagerly awaiting the vote, quite confident that they would be able to win.

Toward the end of the day, Senator Wadsworth of New York, an ardent opponent of woman suffrage, demanded to know of Senator Jones of New Mexico, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, if the suffrage advocates were not trying to hold back a vote until Saturday in the hope of mustering enough support to save themselves from defeat. Senator Jones avoided making a direct reply. Later the Senate abruptly adjourned until tomorrow, when the suffrage fight will come up again.

Tonight suffrage leaders in the Senate are hoping for the return to the Capitol of Senator Johnson of California and Senator La Follette of Wisconsin, whose votes they need to help put the amendment through. But even with these two votes, the opponents of suffrage insist that the resolution will not pass. Senator Martin of Virginia and Senator Underwood of Alabama, Democrats, with Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, and Senator Wadsworth of New York, Republicans, who are leading the opposition, confidently claim at least thirty-three Senators will vote against the amendment. If they do, the resolution is doomed.

The suffrage leaders engaged themselves at intervals during the day in making frantic polls of the Senate. Senators Shaffroth, Democrat, of Colorado, and Smoot, Republican, of Utah sat in a corner of the Senate chamber every hour or so making up a list. But they were never quite able to count the necessary two-thirds required to adopt the amendment.

Drew Surprises Suffragists.

One shock to the suffrage supporters was the announcement of Senator Drew

of New Hampshire, successor to the late Senator Gallinger, that he would vote with the opponents of the resolution. He had been counted upon to vote in favor of it.

Senator Gore of Oklahoma made a hurried trip from the West to vote for the amendment, while Senator McLean of Connecticut, a bitter anti-suffragist, spread gloom among the suffragists by appearing at the Capitol for the first time in weeks.

The energetic suffrage leaders kept the telephone and telegraph wires active during the day trying to get supporters back to the capital. While all this was going on, the foes of the measure sat back, calmly awaiting the vote that never came.

As the situation stands to-night, the anti-suffrage leaders believe that, if the vote is taken on Saturday, the amendment will be defeated. The suffrage proponents, however, insist that when their full strength is in the Senate they will have the master hand. Pressure from the White House, it was said to-night, might be sought to win over recalcitrant Democrats.

The Senate galleries were jammed throughout the day by women, the majority of whom were suffragists. They brought their luncheon and knitting with them. The suffragists were clustered in galleries by themselves and were easily distinguished by the yellow colors they wore, while the anti-suffragists sat in opposite galleries, wearing their red badges.

The debate ran along for five hours. It started when Senator Jones called up the amendment, the same one, as to phraseology, that was drawn up by Miss Susan B. Anthony in 1875. It reads:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

This amendment was adopted by the House of Representatives on Jan. 10 of this year and has been in the Senate ever since.

The debate was focused chiefly upon an amendment to insert the word "white" before the word "citizens." This was offered by Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi, to prevent colored women from voting in the South. Later in the day Senator Jones of New Mexico charged that this amendment had been offered to block a vote.

Race Question Raised.

Senator Vardaman of Mississippi took the floor at once, to support the Williams amendment. While he favored the vote to women, the Mississippian said, he knew "only too well" the danger there would come in the South if negro women obtained suffrage. Senator Vardaman deprecated what he called "the timidity of white men of the South to make a political issue of the negro question in suffrage." However, he said, he would vote for the Susan B. Anthony amendment, regardless of whether the franchise was to go to the colored women.

Senator McCumber, Republican, of North Dakota, said that in view of the fact his State had gone on record for suffrage for women, he would yield his vote, even though he opposed it.

Senator Hardwick of Georgia spoke earnestly for the Williams amendment. He said the South had one difficult problem with its negro vote and did not want it accentuated.

"This is a grave problem for the South," said Senator Hardwick. "With all due deference to the men of the North, I say you do not quite understand what it means when you vote to give the franchise to the negro. I predict that after this war the negro question in this country is going to be one of the most difficult ones. You will have colored soldiers coming from France, where they have been fighting and you will want them to have the vote."

"Either you hybridize the South or you must maintain a system such as we have there now. The facts must be plainly stated and squarely faced. It is in the hysteria of war that this suffrage amendment has been forced upon us. In other times it would be quickly voted down. Now men are afraid to do it."

The Georgian insisted that States' rights would be trampled by giving the suffrage to colored women of the South. The privilege of States defining what are to be the qualifications of voters for State or municipal offices, he said, ought not be taken away. Senator Shaffroth interrupted to say that the Democratic Party had not pledged itself to oppose woman suffrage. Senator Hardwick thereupon read from the platforms of both parties to show, as he expressed it, that they had both "come out unequivocally for States' rights."

Senator Hardwick declared that, "no matter if the President himself has abandoned the pledge of the Democratic Party, I will not do it myself."

Senator Frelinghuysen, Republican of New Jersey, in announcing himself in favor of the amendment, said that it had been unfortunately phrased.

"While I shall vote for it, I want to say that, as drawn, it is a sinister menace to the country," said the New Jersey Senator. "It violates our naturalization laws."

If adopted as phrased, the Senator said, the amendment would automatically naturalize any alien who married an American citizen. He offered an amendment to provide that "no person, male or female, shall exercise the suffrage unless he or she has acquired citizenship by birth or the naturalization laws."

Senator Pomerene, Democrat, of Ohio, said he would vote against the suffrage amendment because the people of his State had voted against giving the franchise to women. Senator Guion, Democrat, of Louisiana, was "unalterably opposed to having the suffrage question settled by Federal legislation."

Senator Fletcher, Democrat, of Florida, was opposed to the amendment, he said, because it was "all against the spirit of the Constitution," in guaranteeing States' rights. The Florida Senator offered a substitute reading "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged by the United States on account of sex." That, he said, would preserve the right of the States to determine the suffrage qualifications of its voters.

"And that," he said, "is as far as I will go."

Senators McKellar of Tennessee, Willey of Missouri, and Thompson of Kansas, Democrats, all supported the amendment. Votes on the amendments offered by Senators Williams and Fletcher will be taken either tomorrow or Saturday.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA SENATORSHIP
President Wilson some days ago intervened in the South Carolina Senatorial Situation and caused the withdrawal from the race of the popular 7th District Re-

presentative, Hon. A. F. Lever, Chairman of the House Agricultural Committee.

Mr. Lever's withdrawal leaves a square fight between the loyal candidates with the Hon. Cole L. Blease in guerilla warfare against the field. He has refused to meet his opponents on the stump in open battle and it is being circulated that he does not intend to abide by the result of the primary but intends to submit his claims to the voters in the general election. If this report has any foundation in truth it is time for the alarm to be sounded to the twenty thousand or more qualified Negro voters of South Carolina that they make no move that may seriously cripple and handicap the race in the eyes of loyal, forward looking and justice loving men.

Whatever reasons may have appeared attractive and impelling in time of peace to accept any man who would enter the breach to break up the autocracy which has reduced the Negro to serfdom and has practically removed from the courts to the individual white man the settlement of personal causes between whites and Negroes every white man being a law unto himself, must all vanish now before the higher law of necessity demanding unqualified and undivided support of the government in its war aims.

Possibly there are among the loyal candidates one or more whose attitude towards the Negro has been as hostile and bitter as Mr. Blease's. But even if this be

so, and we do not doubt it, such candidate is not touch- ed with taint of disloyalty to his government and, standing aloof and refusing to support Blease will not be an indorsement of any other candidate. The utterances of no man, North or South, in recent years have been so fruitful of injury to the Negro as Blease's utterances.

He has aligned himself squarely and openly with mob murderers, both as Governor and as citizen, and as opposed to the orderly processes of law through the courts in dealing with Negroes charged with crime. For that reason Negroes would bring reproach upon themselves to give apparent sanction of his vile and hated abuse of themselves by casting a vote in his favor if invited to do so.

More than all, however, is the charge of disloyalty alleged against him. We express no opinion as to its truth but it is made by men of his own race and is believed and is therefore like the brand upon the brow of Cain sufficient to drive loyal men away from him.

The Negro's record of loyalty is too high to be put in the balance by any support whatever given to a man tainted with disloyalty.

Every man who gives support and sympathy to the disloyal is himself disloyal and now is not the time for a single Negro to make a step in that direction.

Let the loyal and disloyal white men fight it out among themselves. There are no disloyal Negroes and they should not permit themselves to be drawn into a conflict where their loyalty

can be questioned.

Suffrage

"NORTH FORCING WOMAN SUFFRAGE ON THE NEGRO WOMEN OF THE SOUTH."

MEMPHIS ALA WEEKLY

OCT 22, 1918

Is what our esteemed contemporary the Montgomery Advertiser is wishing to have its readers believe would be the effect of the adoption of the National Equal suffrage amendment

In its issue of the 15th inst, speaking of the necessity of circumspection in the selection of candidates for the legislature, it says:

"The Legislature elected this year will hold for four years; in that time it will pass upon or reject the suffrage amendment. If you are not in favor of the more populous States of the North forcing woman's suffrage on the negro women of the South, you had better get an expression from your candidates for the Legislature during this primary campaign."

We question if anybody to any noticeable extent any where in this country favors "the more populous States of the North forcing woman's suffrage on negro women." If the suffrage amendment is ratified it will be as much by Southern legislatures as by those of other sections. When the great democratic leader of the nation, President Wilson, goes out of his way to urge its adoption, it has an appeal in it to bring democratic legislatures everywhere to its endorsement and support.

But why should the Advertiser attempt to mislead its readers and the public as to the effect of engrafting the suffrage amendment upon the national constitution? It wont force woman suffrage upon anybody. There is at least as yet no law existing forcing suffrage on citizens or any class of them. Suffrage is a privilege, a right. Its exercise is never compulsory.

Why shouldn't the Advertiser be frankly honest and inform its readers that adopting the suffrage amendment does not affect the restrictions which the individual states place upon the exercise of the right of suffrage. The amendment simply prevents any discrimination being made in the exercise of the right of suffrage on account of sex. The state qualification for suffrage must apply alike to both sexes.

The people of this state are fully

aware that very few negro men are registered in this state. The negro men simply could not pass the educational and intelligent test the state required. If the amendment is ratified the negro women will be subject to the same test. How many negro women could pass the test that the great mass of negro men are unable to pass?

No fair minded, sensible person believes that any Southern state in spirit, mortification or in fact will suffer by putting all citizens of this country upon an equality as to the right of suffrage.

THE NEGRO MUST ASSERT HIMSELF.

There has not been a Negro on the State Republican Executive Committee in quite a while. The late Joseph H. R. Church in the seat of the Negro, in proportion to his voting strength in the Republican party, deserves to fare better. There used to be Negroes on the State Committee from the following congressional districts: 3rd, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th, but that was a long time ago, before the white Republican elbowed the Negro out of the way and has been very successful in keeping him out of the way.

Now, since the new primary law has been enacted, the Negro should pull himself together and see where he is "at." If the Negro is to continue to vote and affiliate with the party, he should be recognized as an integral part of the organization and given a choice seat within its council. That there has been a studied effort to ignore and relegate the Negro cannot be denied, but down in the tenth congressional district the Lincoln League and its peerless president, Hon. R. R. Church, are putting up a game fight to place the Negro back on the political blackboard from which his name has been erased. They are making a battle that should challenge the admiration of every race lover in the United States. They will win if fairness prevails in the primary. The tenth district republican vote is overwhelmingly colored, and they are going to the polls Thursday to vote for Hon. R. R. Church for State Committeeman. These tenth district folks believe in fighting every inch of the way; they ask for no quarter and give none. They want only that which is theirs by divine right, no more no less. They claim they have been hewers of wood and

drawers of water long enough and are now demanding part of the bake shop. It would be well if the race in other parts of Tennessee would emulate the tenth district boys and get a move on themselves that would spell political results. It is time for the Negroes to wake up.

The Lincoln League deserves a whole garden of flowers for the magnificent manner in which they have conducted their campaign—namely, above board and courageously. They have indulged in no camouflage, no double dealing, but rather they have kept in the middle of the road of truth and righteousness, looking neither to the right nor to the left, but marching straight on towards the goal of their ambition of putting the race will be more than creditably represented by a man who believes in doing things. The Globe anticipates that victory will set squarely upon their banner.

ALBANY N.Y PRESS
OCTOBER 1, 1918

THE GRANDMOTHER CLAUSE COMES HOME TO ROOST.

The south is beginning to find out what a tangled web it wove for itself when first it practiced to deceive the fundamental law of the land. Outwitting the Constitution of the United States used to be considered deucedly clever, below the Mason and Dixon line, and the fact that the unconstitutional disfranchisement of negro voters left the south with a grossly disproportionate representation in the house of representatives and the electoral college was just one more good joke. Now the shoe is on the other foot.

Forbidden to disfranchise voters on the ground of their race, color or previous condition of servitude, the south devised the pretext of an educational test for voters, and in some cases a property test also. But the ignorance and illiteracy of southern whites was so great that a purely educational qualification would bar too many white men from the polls, so there was added the "grandfather" clause, which, in the constitutions of most of the eleven slave states, provides that "military service either in behalf of the United States or the states, in any war in which the United States or any one of the southern states engaged, or descent from a person who had rendered such military service," shall qualify any male person to vote, even if he

lacks the educational or property qualifications required in the constitution.

When this was conceived it was believed to be "nigger proof." But look—the draft is taking some hundreds of thousands of negroes from the south in spite of southern reluctance, and when they return they will be as fully enfranchised as any white man, and they will be exempt from the educational and property tests, and so will their children and their grandchildren. There is also the imminent danger that the north will weary some day of assenting to a southern influence in the affairs of the government many times more weighty than the number of southern voters could justify. These are coarse and brutal times.

WHAT THE SOUTH FEARS.

That the negro women are "more intelligent, more ambitious and more dependable than the men" is said to be the reason given by some southerners for opposing the Federal franchise of women. Race prejudice in the south, according to Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, is the only thing the "suffs" still have to fight. However, that may be, an active opponent, George R. Lockwood, has circularized Congress with an argument to the effect that the female of the species is more deadly than the male when it is a matter of negroes voting, because she knows more than her husband and would therefore take more trouble to vote. To admit the women to the ballot, he says, would immensely increase the negro vote, and therefore the Federal amendment ought to be defeated. "How foolish!" chirps confident Mrs. Catt.

But the southern members may be impressed. They do not regard the southern negro as really more intelligent than the southern negro, but they know that as a result of economic conditions she has had more schooling and they believe that the encouragement of her white sisters of the north has made her more determined. The activity of the "white sisters" of the north is what the south really fears. In connection with this matter the south no longer fears the white northern man; but the white northern woman suffragist, determined to give the vote to the southern negro at any cost to sections of many southern States with negro majorities, is a veritable terror. After many years of surrender to old-time sentiment northern white men came to realize what it meant to the south to have the local governments in parts of many States in the hands of negroes and acquired a friendly sympathy with the south's efforts to prevent this. Therefore attempts to interfere through Congress with the south's ingenious measures for the restriction of the negro vote prac-

tically ceased long ago.

Now come the women of the north, the vast proportion of them interested in equal and universal suffrage, displaying no such sympathy with the south's peculiar difficulties and unalterably determined that every black woman in Dixieland shall cast a ballot. Left alone the south might deal as successfully with the black woman voter as it has for years dealt with the black man voter in the many sections where his ballot, if not restricted, has been regarded as a very real public danger. But the white woman suffragists of the north intend to see to it that the south is not left alone. Such is the situation, with its obvious explanation of the fact that it is not so much the voting southern negro as her "white sister" of the north that fills the south with apprehension.

OCTOBER 31, 1918.

Why She Won't Vote.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

The small number of women to register for the Fall elections has been a matter of comment. I thought it might be interesting to know why one woman did not register. The anti-suffrage leaders have urged it; THE TIMES, well known as opposed to the vote for women, had recommended that we vote, and I intended to do so just to nullify the vote of one of those unfit to vote. Then came Mary Garrett Hay, who said that New York women should vote for the purpose of bringing about the constitutional amendment; that if we voted it would show that the women of New York wanted the franchise. Right then was when I said that if that was to be the inference from my voting I would waive the privilege. I would not for worlds bring nation-wide suffrage, if for no other reason than that I would not have the responsibility of forcing white men of the South to take up the burden of making a canvass for the votes of ignorant colored women who would be capable of banding together to avenge petty spite and would be deaf to the appeals for the best interest of their communities. I think many other women stayed away from the registry booths for the same reason.

A BROOKLYN WOMAN.

Brooklyn, Oct. 19, 1918.

PHILA PA PUBLIC LEDGER NOVEMBER 1, 1918 FREE CAMP VOTE SOUGHT

New York, Oct. 31.—Apprehensive that negro soldiers in army training camps, especially in the South, may be deprived of their right to vote November 5, John R. Shillady, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, made public here today a letter to President Wilson in which he besought the latter "to make certain that no dereliction of duty on the part of election authorities may deprive any elector of his legal right."

After referring to the recent order of the Secretary of War calling upon camp commandants to extend every facility to State commissions to supervise elections for their citizens, Shillady concludes:

"Disenfranchisement of any of our soldiers stationed within the borders of the United States would truly be a shameful travesty on our democratic principles, of which you have been so clear and uncompromising an exponent."

MARCH 31, 1913

Some of the leading Republicans at Evansville are beginning to take hope that they will be able to carry the First District this year. The brought the news here this week that they are about to make peace with Fred Ossenberr. If they can get Ossenberr back in line they are confident they can carry the district as they insist that he controls the vote of 2,000 negroes in Vanderburg County. Ossenberr has been playing the political game with Mayor Ben Bosse, Democrat, for four years, and together they have carried Vanderburg County and the city of Evansville easily for the Democrats. There has been no evidence of an impending break between Bosse and Ossenberr, but it is said that Ossenberr may go back into the Republican ranks, providing he is permitted to name a part of the Vanderburg County ticket.

The Republicans are so anxious to regain Vanderburg and the First District that in despite of their dislike of Ossenberr and the highly uncomplimentary things they have said about him they probably would permit him to name several candidates in order to defeat the Democrats.

Ray Luhring, of Evansville, may become the Republican congressional nominee in the First. He is well known in the district, and some of the party leaders believe that he would stand a good chance of being elected.

TALKS ON NEGRO PROBLEM

BROOKLYN N.Y. EAGLE

DECEMBER 20, 1913

"Political Repression in the Southern States" was the theme of the address delivered last evening by Joseph C. Manning at the semi-monthly meeting of the Frederick Douglas Community Forum, held in Public School No. 83, Dean st. and Schenectady ave.

Mr. Manning, who was born in Alabama in 1870, was a member of the State Senate in 1895 and also acted as postmaster of Alexander City in 1902, from which place he fled following an assault made upon him for protesting against the manner in which negroes were arrested without warrants and were forced to spend their time in jails.

George E. Wibecan, who acted as chairman of the evening, announced that through the financial aid given the forum by County Clerk William E. Kelly and several of his friends, the forum will be able to distribute fifteen Christmas baskets to the poor of the section. Between 2 and 4 o'clock on Christmas afternoon it will also distribute toys, candy, fruit and nuts to more than 200 poor children. This distribution is to be made at the school, where there is to be a large Christmas tree and a concert.

Does It Frighten You?

Under the foregoing query the National American Woman Suffrage Association has made an analysis of a table submitted by the antis to the Southern members of the United States by showing that woman suffrage in the South would mean a vast disturbance of white supremacy. This table analysis shows that if white men comprise 66.4 per cent. of the men electorate in these eleven Southern States and the negro men 33.6 per cent., and that if women were admitted to the electorate white

women would comprise 64.6 per cent. and negro women 35.4 per cent.

"The South is supposed to be very scared about the negro question," says the National's statement, "but we doubt if the scariest Southerner can be induced to think that white supremacy can be endangered by raising the total number of white voters over negro voters from 1,790,585, where it is now, to 3,343,057, where it would be with women voting."

Woman Suffrage Causes Wrangle In Senate

ANTIS SEEK TO DELAY VOTE

Suffrage Leaders Declare They Have Votes Sufficient and Will Allow No Recess Until Vote is Taken

Washington, June 28.—The Federal amendment for woman suffrage hangs by a hair in the Senate and a change of one vote will determine whether or not the constitutional amendment will or will not be submitted to the states for ratification. Efforts to bring it to a vote yesterday failed and it went over till next week.

This extremely narrow margin between the suffragists and the antis developed today as the Senate began consideration of the resolution submitting the Susan B. Anthony amendment for equal suffrage. No vote was taken today because a big row broke out as to whether Senator Ollie James, of Kentucky, who is ill in Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore, will be paired on the vote. The suffrage advocates opposed giving Senator James a pair, and the antis served notice that there would be no vote until he is paired.

All Depends On James.

If Senator James is not paired, the

suffrage advocates declare they have enough votes to give the necessary two-thirds majority. If he is, the antis say the amendment will be defeated by a margin of one or two votes. In order to pair Senator James two Senators who favor the suffrage amendment and who are in their seats must refrain from voting. This would mean a direct loss of two votes by the suffrage advocates.

The antis are confident if Senator James is provided for they will defeat the amendment. Senator Underwood, speaking for them, challenged the suffrage advocates to go to vote with a pair granted Senator James. He said the vote could be taken in five minutes if that was arranged. Senator Jones, of Arizona demurred, saying he was not willing to agree to such an arrangement. He said he could not take that responsibility in view of the grave consequences involved, leaving the impression that if a vote is taken without Senator James the suffragists could win, but if his vote was offset the suffrage cause would be lost, so far as this session of Congress was concerned.

The House voted to submit the amendment by a majority of two-thirds of a vote.

Suffs To Prevent Recess.

The date next week on which the resolution will be called up, Senator Jones said, depends on the clearance of appropriation and other bills in preparation for recess. Positive action having a majority of the Senate, at least, he and other suffrage leaders declared they could and would prevent a recess until the resolution is disposed of and expressed confidence of its final adoption.

Few set speeches on the resolution were made. Without objection the Senate debate proceeded until 2 o'clock, when the Army Appropriation bill automatically was laid before the Senate. Senator Jones then moved to set it aside and proceed with the suffrage amendment.

Senator Reed, of Missouri, in the

debate on the motion, declared refusal of the suffrage leaders to arrange a pair for Senator James demonstrated that "that the first fruits of suffrage are to set aside courtesies and decencies" of Senate procedure

Continued on page two

THE NEGRO WANTS

TO BE LET ALONE

only Herald
The Charleston, (S. C.) News and Courier of July 23rd has the following:

"Whatever these Bleasites newspapers can do to poison the minds of the people of South Carolina against the Democratic party, whatever they can do to prepare them for a bolt, whatever they can do to destroy the Democratic party in South Carolina, they will do. One of them did its utmost to lure the people from the support of Woodrow Wilson in 1916. One of them preached to the people that the pledge to support the Democratic nominee for president did not bind to vote for Wilson electors.

"The candidate for senator supported by these newspapers, after the primary in 1916 and 34 days before the general election, appeared before an audience of Negroes presided over by a Negro Republican and told those Negroes that he would have been elected governor but for the unfairness of the Democratic party.

"Has any white Democrat in South Carolina ever heard of any white Democrat, except in this case, attacking the Democratic party in a Negro meeting? At the time, remember, the general election was about 34 days in the future.

"This is the record. Nobody disputes it.

"These are the people who are imputing fraud to the Democratic party. Meanwhile, they are accused by their own supporters, or former supporters of 1916, namely, McLaurin and Beard, of having tried to sell out the Democratic party to the Repub-

licans!"

Now that the tail end of the Senatorial Campaign of the white Primary in South Carolina is being approached the leading white daily of that state lugs the Negro into the Campaign. There is no question of the loyalty of the Negro in South Carolina or in any part of the United States and he will not ally himself in any way with any cause or for any individual under suspicion of disloyalty. He harbors no intention of trying to break into the white man's primary or of aiding to decide political issues in South Carolina growing out of differences between contenders in the white primary. If there should be a split in the democratic party in that or any other state the Negro can be counted upon to take sides, if asked, with those whose loyalty to the government is unquestioned.

But since he is loyal and is endeavoring with every ounce of energy that he possesses to serve the government faithfully he resents being used in the white primary campaign to stir racial feeling and being made an issue. In normal times there has never been any excuse for it; in a time of a crisis

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Suffrage

THE LATEST SENATE ASPIRANT.

Mr. G. H. Williams, of Dublin, who is in the lists for the United States Senate as a Republican because the Democratic Administration threatens to fix the price of cotton after leaving it as the last great staple to come under government control, may at least be given credit for a high temerity. For a great many years it has required a certain courage to run as a Republican in this State, especially as far South as Laurens county, for the very good reason the cause has always been hopeless, as it still is, and there was not only the certainty of defeat to face, but a good deal of more or less gentle and tolerant ridicule to boot. But when the candidate "bolts" the primary the feeling grows sterner toward him.

Mr. Williams should think better of his suddenly announced, and The Telegraph is certain his equally suddenly determined, decision. He is the nominee of the Democratic party in Georgia for State Senator from his district—not a small honor at all. He bound himself morally to stand by the national primary as well as the State primary when he entered the race in Laurens, for the same party machinery that exercises appellate jurisdiction and furnishes basis for the State Senate primary in Laurens handles at the same time and through kindred channels the United States Senate primary, the nominee of which he would now contest as a Republican even though he himself was not only a participant in but a beneficiary of the Democratic primary, the choice of which he now assails.

That he will give up his adventure before he is well into it is strongly to be hoped. This is not a Republican State. It may some day desert the Democratic party, but not under the name and banner of that party's ancient and remorseless enemy. Despite the protestations of some white Republicans in Georgia to the contrary, the words Republican and negro go together in this State. They are linked inseparably in the public regard. The white primary of Georgia is just what its name purports it to be. It takes the name Democratic so it may really be a party primary. Bolters of that primary, therefore, are not bolting the Democratic party any more than they are bolting the organized white protection of the purity of its ballot existing in the State.

Negroes could not vote for United States Senator in the primary Mr. Williams threatens to bolt. They can vote for him in the general election he now declares he will enter. Leaving out the question of cotton price-fixing entirely—he's very angry about that because it appears he has been caught on the wrong side of the market and admits \$30,000 loss—the main element with him, his race, his neighbors and his State, is not that it is the Democratic party he's bolting, but the white primary of the Caucasian people of Georgia, and that it will not be the enlightened white suffrage of this State to which he will have to appeal in the general election, but to the handful of white Republicans, the unreconstructed Populists and the negroes. That is fact; not pleasant, but the fact Mr. Williams must face.

WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT

Chicago Tribune

For forty years, well nigh; indeed, since the criminal bargain by which Hayes went to the White House and Tilden was sent to the timbers, the political prosperity of the "white South" has rested upon the political degradation of one-third of the population of the South and the connivance of the stupid North in the crime. That this condition could not endure wise men knew; but, none being so foolish as unpursued criminals, the South—the "white South"—has dreamed a century of uninterrupted rule through its ignorance, its brutality and its ability to mislead the childlike North.

Events are stubborn and now prove, even to the "white South," that Progress is blind to all save the future, and deaf to all save her own voice. States' rights, upon which the South moved and prospered, and upon which her hopes were set, are again shot to pieces; this time in peace. The "white South" is howling, and the friends of the "white South" are also howling, not with her, but at her.

The vote by which national prohibition was sent to the states was obtained upon the unanimous support of Southern members of the congress. The vote by which the suffrage for women was sent to the states for ratification came to the edge of defeat because the unanimous support of Southern members of congress was thrown against the measure—that is to say, the South was eager to saddle prohibition upon Massachusetts and Illinois, but the South was not willing to have Illinois and Massachusetts saddle universal suffrage upon her. A drink to no one anywhere; a vote to women and some men everywhere except in Dixie—that is the slogan of the South.

Up speaks the New York World, forceful organ of the Democratic party and long partner in crime with the "white South" in its robbery of the political rights of the Negro and the North alike. The parting of the ways is reached. Familiar with the brow that wore it, the mask of the "white South" is torn away by the merciless World. Rebuking the South as a land of the Jim Crow and reading for that land of barbarism the handwriting on the wall, the World says:

According to reports from Washington, various Democratic congressmen are dubious about the administration railroad bill, because they "fear the proposed legislation with the Jim Crow laws of the South." That is about what might have been expected.

The Democracy of the South is largely a Jim Crow Democracy. Nothing else matters much. To keep the Negro from voting, the Fifteenth Amendment has been nullified. To keep the Negro sober in order that he will work more steadily, the South proposes to fasten prohibition upon the rest of the country. To keep the Negro out of the white man's railroad cars is a subject that would naturally appeal to the average Southern Democrat. It represents the one political principle to which he consistently adheres. If Jim Crowism is menaced in any way by the administration's railroad bill, Southern Democracy in congress can be counted on to join hands with Old Guard Republicanism in the North to hold up the measure, whatever effect delay may have on the winning of the war.

Making the world safe for democracy is not half so important as keeping the South safe for Jim Crowism.

So here is a faithful picture of the South, drawn by a faithful friend whose patience waned while its heart was yet full. "Naturally appeals to the average Southern Democrat," says the World, of any measure that seeks or encompasses the degradation of that Race whom the South has never forgiven, and will never forgive, for shooting the flag of secession out of the traitorous hands of Jefferson Davis.

So much for distant parts. At home all is not well with Dixie. The Macon (Ga.) Telegraph, that bears the burden of a nightmare when thoughts of the equality of men under the law steal upon it, is feverish with anxiety. The death of states' rights, argues this widow of a thousand crimes, is promise of the restoration of the simple rights of the Negro under the federal law. Rich in reading and history are the admissions, pleadings, rebukes and threats of the Telegraph, which says:

For all the years Southern Democrats have pleaded and suc-

ceeded in continuing immunity from invocation of the Negro suffrage amendments, they stand today before the nation as guiding their own impassioned stands of the past with sophistry and cynicism when it comes to dealing with the local affairs of other states. We have contended that suffrage is a state matter—even though the constitution of the republic has been amended to the effect it is not—and we have demanded that the North, which does not think as we do, and which does not limit its suffrage as we do, keep hands off our defiance of the constitution. The North has done that. But when the drive of the Cannons and Felders and Ham Pattersons and the rest of them centered on our own great apostles of constitutional democracy, they have not hesitated to do to the Northern states the very thing they had declared that the Northern states should not do to them.

The Negro Will Vote Again

If the national prohibition amendment becomes law, and it can only do so by Southern legislatures making it so, the Negro will be voting again in Georgia and in every Southern state, even though it takes a regiment of federal soldiers to guard every polling place to see that he does. When the emissaries of the states' rights South mocked their ancient and dearly chafed political heritage in the face of the federalizing party of the nation and out-unionized the North and East and West, then the South as far as that went cut out from under its own feet the last excuse for white suffrage it had. We may as well stare this fact in the face and recognize it for what it is. The New York World does not speak idly, nor spitefully. It is a great newspaper that has always been loyal to the Democratic party. It has stood loyally by the South and those peculiarly Southern political institutions by which our local governments thrive. It speaks now with authority and on sound ground. We have done this thing ourselves through our accredited representatives in congress and we have but one chance to retrieve what has been so largely tossed away on a shallow "moral" ground. Our general assembly can restate to the nation this state's fidelity to the principle on which this Union was founded. It can repudiate in its own intelligent section the stampeded stupidity of its congressmen and write the record high to our sister states that Georgia is still an American commonwealth, sovereign and self-governing, and stands for the greatest measure of similar political integrity for all other states.

We must and will repudiate the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment, just as we must and will repudiate the prohibition amendment. Both mean exactly the same thing to the Georgia white men and women—the establishment of the Negro in full and complete voting citizenship in our commonwealth, although they would bring it about in different fashion. And God knows there are plenty of Georgians of this day and time who can recall actual experience what that will and does mean.

And so on. All of which points to the day when humble men will get their dues, the thieves having fallen out.

The Negro will vote again in Georgia, though not a single fe is in sight. That is as sure as the stars shine, if the governme THE BALLOT AS A WEAPON OF DEFENSE. they are the creatures. They are so-licitous to find out the voter's sover-ign will as expressed by the ballot, people choose their representatives for they are aware that the same elec-make and execute their laws, the bal-lot who elect them through the ballot lot is the very bed-rock of liberty. It can unmake them, and they are ready safeguards and protects every citizen at all times to respect their wishes in his right to life, liberty and the pur-and to execute their commands. Hence, suit of happiness. The men chosen as the ballot is all powerful and is the their representatives are their serv-badges of sovereignty which citizens of ants and are ever on the alert to obey a republic wield in governing them-the will of the sovereign voters. They selves. are ever ready to give a strict account The men without the ballot are de-of their stewardship. They realize defenseless and are utterly disregarded

by those chosen to make and execute the laws. They have the utmost contempt for them. They feel in no way responsible for their elevation to office to those who have no voice in electing them. They treat them as nondescripts. The officers, whether municipal, state or national, give very little heed to their demands. They treat them with perfect indifference; they ignore and discriminate against them in everything that relates to their economic, civil and political rights. They argue that their election was not dependent upon their vote, their voice was not expressed through the ballot in their election, and they are in no way responsible to them. Their election was entirely without regard to them, and whatever treatment they are a-mind to mete out to them there is no help for it.

Some After Thoughts of Hardwick's Speech

Mr. Hardwick says he favored a volunteer army to be paid \$100.00 per volunteer per month. Then, evidently Mr. Hardwick wanted the poor boy to do all the fighting. How many of the rich men's sons would be in the army with an arrangement like that? Think a minute before you tear your shirt for Mr. Hardwick.

Mr. Hardwick boasted of being dragged out feet foremost before he would consent to a negro appointment being confirmed—still he consented. Suppose you ask him about the negro who was sent to Brunswick to the Revenue Collector's office and from which a gallant old soldier walked out because he would not consent to work under a negro appointee. This occurred since Mr. Hardwick has been Senator.

Mr. Hardwick claims that the newspapers oppose him because he favored the zone system of newspaper postage. He failed to state that most of the weekly papers had themselves favored just that plan. If he will misrepresent them in this particular, he surely will in others.

LET US QUALIFY AS ELECTORS.

The Houston Observer.
Once more it is our manifest duty to call our race's attention to the urgent necessity of proving its citizenship and its right to cast a vote in the elections of 1919 by qualifying under the law of Texas through the payment of the poll tax. 12-28-18

No man or woman can vote during 1919 who fails to pay his or her poll tax before February 1, 1919.

The colored voters or those of voting age, have not heretofore qualified to any large degree or extent, and this lethargy or dereliction has worked to the race's detriment.

It is not the intention of this editorial to discuss the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the poll tax law, which was framed especially to disfranchise the colored citizens.

Despite its illegality and inability to stand the supreme test at the court of last resort, if colored electors desire to cast a vote in any or all elections during the succeeding year, there is only one way at present to perform that sacred duty and that is to pay the poll tax.

We have complained a great deal (and rightly so, too) about the many un-American and undemocratic practices heaped upon our race, but as long as we refuse to qualify as voters and then demand the exercise of our elective franchise rights, we can not consistently hold any one responsible for our sad and lamentable plight but ourselves.

In other words, the time is ripe for real men and women and not whiners and complainers. The world admires and has the utmost respect for the former, but nothing but contempt and disrespect for the latter.

Our contributions along various lines have been a saving factor in the many crises through which America has gone and the record of the colored race in the late European conflict is one of the brightest pages of all history.

But what will these contributions amount to if we "lay down" on our job?

We complain that we are disfranchised and denied an opportunity to vote in elections of local and State interest. But have you ever stopped to consider that as long as the colored race, as a whole, refuses to qualify as voters and then go to the polls to cast their ballots, just so long will the race be disfranchised and flimflammed out of their rights guaranteed them under the constitution of the United States of America?

When conditions do not suit you there is only one alternative and that is to set about immediately to remedy them. Complaining and whining never accomplished anything worth while. It takes action to get results in any capacity and this is particularly true concerning the political and economic status of the colored race.

In the face of what we have done for "making the world safe for democracy," both at home and abroad, the American conscience cannot continue to ignore and treat contumeliously our pleas for a fair and square deal. A hearing is going to be granted and a favorable reply accorded us only when we have fulfilled

our every duty.

If we fail to take advantage of our efforts and sacrifices for the salvation of the world during the holocaust "over there," then we prove our inability to rightly share our just and deserving rights and privileges, and, as usual, the colored race becomes its own chief stumbling block.

The price of a poll tax receipt is small and almost inconsequential, being only \$1.50 per year in Houston; but without it no man or woman can cast a single vote in any election during the next year.

This editorial is the signal for a poll tax campaign among our people throughout the State, but most especially Houston.

The Observer would suggest that every minister, teacher, fraternalist, newspaper, organization and individual (professional and lay) preach, talk, urge and stress the importance of paying the poll tax from this day until January 31, 1919, but let them teach by precept and example by qualifying first themselves.

With a colored population estimated at practically 40,000, it will reflect very discreditably and dishonorably upon the race to possess anything less than 10,000 qualified voters during 1919.

If we will organize our forces and work resolutely to that end the task will be easily accomplished; but if we "rat" on the job then every man and woman, who willfully and intentionally fails to qualify as an elector and then has the audacity to continue to whine and complain about his or her race's status—that slackening, shirking individual should be dispatched to Russia instantaneously to join the colony of bolsheviks.

The ballot is the greatest weapon of defense that has ever been contrived by human mind and is the only king that red-blooded Americans know, honor, respect and revere.

As American citizens it is our plain and obvious duty to pay our poll tax, just as we have subscribed for Liberty Loan bonds, War Savings Stamps, supported the Red Cross and other war-time activities. We were not slackers or shirkers in our contributions for bettering the conditions of others, so let us not now lose out by default regarding ourselves.

If you pride yourself on being an American citizen and boast and exult in that fact (which is as it should be), then get busy **right now and PAY YOUR POLL TAX!**

MAYOR QUIGLEY SPEAKS HARTFORD CONN TIMES OCTOBER 30, 1918

New Britain Executive Gives Address at Colored Men's Civic League Rally.

Mayor George A. Quigley of New Britain, the republican candidate for congress in the First district, addressed a meeting of the Colored Men's Civic League Tuesday evening. The mayor said in part:

"My grandfather, an Irishman, and his English wife came to this country in 1832 and had lived here sixteen years when the Mexican War broke out. My grandfather fought in this war and also fought for two years in the Civil war and for two years lay rotting in Andersonville prison.

"No one has a right to assail our honor, patriotism or loyalty. We are just as much Americans, whether we were born on the other side or on this side of the water. However I cannot but help present what the

president has said about not being able to trust the republicans in Congress, for that would mean that I could not be trusted in Washington, if elected."

A letter was read from Governor Holcomb in which the governor said in part:

"I am encouraged that the electors are looking up the record of the political parties and of their candidates. Promises made during a political campaign are not as convincing as the record of a party and its candidates. It is written 'Ye shall know them by their fruits.' This is a reasonable and fair test, and the republican party and its candidates are satisfied to be judged by it. During the last four years the state of Connecticut has had a republican administration. The financial record is unequalled."

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A LESSON AND A WARNING

The recent special election for Congress in the 21st District of New York conveys at once a lesson and a warning—in fact we might say several lessons.

The fact that the Independent candidate, though not held blameless personally, was unable to prove his right to a place on the official ballot, was a distinct admission of incapacity or something more serious on the part of those who had undertaken his campaign. The first lesson then may be set down as showing the necessity of starting a political movement right and keeping it headed in the right direction.

The fact that the number of women who voted almost equalled the total vote cast for the regular Republican candidate shows that this new element must be counted with in future elections. Another significant straw is that the woman candidate on the Prohibition ticket received only 382 votes, although the women who voted numbered 9,372, making it clear that the new voters were not swayed by sex in their action.

That 465 voters took the trouble to write the name of Reverdy C. Ransom on their ballots, while it is claimed that six hundred others attempted to do so but bungled the job, shows a degree of dissatisfaction among Negro voters that cannot be ignored.

The most important lesson for this class of voters to learn is how to wield their power in such a manner as to bring about results helpful to the race. There is a warning to the Republican leaders that a square deal is in order to remove the cause for such dissatisfaction as shown in the number of votes diverted from the regular party nominee in this election.

SOUTHERN SENATORS IN A HOLE.

There is no doubt that the Southern senators are in a hole on the Suffrage Amendment now pending. A vote has been set for this week, and, for most of them, it is a case of damned if they do, and damned if they don't. The women of the North and West are urging that the measure be brought up and passed, and they have their states behind them; the women of the South are silent, they dare not say aloud that they want the vote. All of the politicians of the South are bitterly opposed, and their opposition is involved in the race question. Southern legislatures are memorializing Congress to reject the so-called Susan B. Anthony amendment. The House has passed the measure, and it is now up to the Senate. The senators from the majority of the Southern States find themselves between the dictates of race prejudice on one hand and the dictates of enlightened and progressive thought on the other.

If it were not that the amendment concerns such an important matter, the position of these Southern senators would be laughable. We can easily imagine what a sweat their predicament puts them in. If they vote against the amendment, they go on record against the trend of progressive politics not only in this country, but in England, and even Japan. And, what no doubt worries them still more, they place the Democratic party in a position that may lead to its defeat in the coming congressional elections and the presidential election in 1920. If they vote for the amendment, they will place the ballot in the hands of the colored women of the South; and, as we pointed out last week, the colored women will not yield or neglect their right to vote in the manner that the colored men have done. Talk about being between the devil and the deep sea; that is the exact locality now occupied by most of the senators from the South.

In spite of the importance and seriousness of the question at issue, it is impossible not to smile at the absurd position into which it is forcing the Dixie statesmen. Take, for example, some of the memorials that are being sent to Congress. A few days ago Senator Ransdell of Louisiana sent to the desk a copy of an act of the Louisiana Legislature memorializing Congress in regard to women suffrage, and asked that it be printed in the Record. The memorial was printed, and reads as follows:

(Act No. 10, house concurrent resolution No. 9, by Mr. Stewart.)

Whereas under a government existing and exercising its authority by votes of the people it is obvious that whatsoever power shall declare who shall vote will control that government; and

Whereas if a people shall themselves declare who among them shall exercise the franchise they are free, and if external power shall control that privilege they are not free; and

Whereas in the formation of this Union by the several States under the Federal Constitution this vital political principle was solemnly recognized and guaranteed as applicable to each separate State for reasons appertaining to the origin of their population, their homogeneity, their existing forms of local government, their wide separation, differences of climate and forms of life and activity, all of which reasons exist today and will forever endure; and

Whereas never but once since the formation of this Government has the principle been violated, and then only in the passionate bitterness following civil war, when normal judgment and justice had been stricken down, and when a great section of the Union, though most affected by

the change, was permitted no voice therein; and

Whereas this grievous error, perpetuated in the fifteenth amendment, has curtailed the free flow of the energies of the white race of the South, circumscribed their effort for progress, restricted their genius for government, and denied to them the free development allowed to their brethren elsewhere in the Union; and

Whereas this first violation of State integrity has injuriously affected the political liberty and material welfare of only one section of the Nation, it is only too clear a guide what will happen to the whole people when State government is destroyed, the Union becomes an empire, controlled, dominated, and governed by one section, as Germany by Prussia, the laws made at one place in ignorance and indifference to the local well-being of those in another too distant to influence their making; and

Whereas there is presently pending before the Senate of the United States in the so-called Susan B. Anthony amendment a measure designed as a second attack upon State control of its own electorate, which measure not only accentuates the evil already committed and condones the fraud in the commission but which will pave the way for further Federal control of State electorates, to the final destruction of the liberties of the people; and

Whereas the blood and treasure of the people is being justly and freely poured out to make the world safe for democracy, which great principle applies to an American State as well as to a European State; and

Whereas this principle is boldly violated in this Federal attempt to impose franchise laws on the States; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the people of Louisiana (the Senate concurring). That the Congress of the United States be, and it is hereby memorialized to reject the so-called Miss Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Federal Constitution, requiring each State to grant suffrage to the female sex, without choice or limitation, and authorizing Federal power to enforce the amendment, the said Congress of the United States to declare by this action that the democracy of each separate American State is safe against the force and power of a combination of other American States; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon our sister States of the Union to likewise declare for State integrity and the safety of American democracy and vigorously oppose Federal interference or control with State franchises; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to each House of Congress in the United States.

HEWITT BOUANCHAUD,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

FERNAND MOUTON,

Lieutenant Governor and President of the Senate.

We thought at first to omit some of the above "whereases," but the whole memorial is such a fine illustration of the illogical distemper into which the Southern mind is thrown by the race question that we reproduce it all.

Read over the first and the second "whereas," then try if you can to imagine the state of mind of these bayou statesmen when they framed and adopted this resolution. Whom does the Louisiana Legislature refer to when it speaks of "the people"? We do not need to read the paragraphs through twice to see that "the people" means only the white people of Louisiana.

According to the census of 1910 there were in the State of Louisiana 941,086 white people, and 713,874 colored people. These 713,874 colored people are declared by the Constitution of the United States to be American citizens, yet the Legislature of Louisiana talks about "the people," while absolutely excluding nearly one-half of the population from the term. We should like to ask, what sort of a show do the colored citizens of Louisiana stand with a set of men

at the head of the state who do not even regard them as a part of "the people?"

The fourth, fifth and sixth "whereas" contain the germ that makes Southern politicians go mad and froth at the mouth; that makes them lose their reason and utter imbecilities that you would not hear in an insane asylum. The cause of all this madness is the outcome of the Civil War and the adoption of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

As an evidence of the effect of this madness, read the last two "whereases." We repeat them here to save the reader the trouble of going back:

"Whereas the blood and treasure of the people is being justly and freely poured out to make the world safe for democracy, which great principle applies to an American state as well as to a European state; and

"Whereas this principle is boldly violated in the Federal attempt to impose franchise laws on the States: Now, therefore, be it"

Here we have a set of men, the elected legislators of a great State, memorializing Congress to defeat a measure which proposes to extend the right to vote to all the citizens of that state, and at the same time defending their action by referring to the war to "make the world safe for democracy." Perhaps there might be found an equal number of men in some home for the feeble minded who would publicly put themselves in the same absurd position, but we doubt it.

Now the terrible thought arises, if this is the idea which the legislators have of "making the world safe for democracy," what must be the idea held by the average "cracker" of the Pelican State?

THE TRUTH HAS COME AT LAST!

Houston Chronicle
Judging from the comments, editorial and contributory, in the leading white newspapers of the country anent the Federal prohibition amendment to be ratified by the several states, it appears that the "Negro question" has again crept in and some publications and writers have become frantic and frenzied lest such legislation pave the way for the American Negro to receive his just deserts and rights through the instrumentality of the Federal government.

1-13-18
They argue the surrender of state's rights and a centralization of too much power in Washington.

National prohibition is coming and that during our day and time, and too much time ought not to be consumed at this period wrangling over what this species of national legislation will lead to ultimately in so far as it affects our political and economic status.

These apostles and disciples of the state's rights doctrine are living in the dead past, apparently, and seem to be imitating the Chinaman, who for thousands of years has absolutely refused to deviate from the paths and practices of his father and thus one of the earth's oldest nations is a back number in comparison with present day progress, achievements and accomplishments.

"What used to be ain't no more" is evidenced along all lines in business and other commercial activities.

It were utterly absurd and ridiculous to suppose and reason that the early founders of this country were able to forever outline the policy and program of this country.

This has been the South's main stumbling-block for these

many years, viz: ultra conservatism.

Let the dead past bury its dead and let us set ourselves about to perform the tasks of today and tomorrow, which cannot be accomplished by ante-bellum and post-revolutionary customs, laws, doctrines, practices, etc.

These opponents of the proposed amendment seem to have "conniptions," fearing that the Federal government will abolish the disfranchisement, jim-crow and other undemocratic and un-American practices and laws of the South and give to the black man real citizenship and protection.

Some of them are endeavoring to fight the civil war over and by their arguments prejudice the Southern voters against ratifying the amendment.

The tone of some of the Northern papers, politicians and statesmen would indicate that the North has tolerated for years the disfranchisement of the Southern black man simply as a matter of political exigency, but now since this new species of national legislation threatens to put the kibosh on the saloons in the North, these Northerners are now attempting to wield a big stick over the South's head. Consistency, thou art a jewel!

The Southern black man does not appreciate nor solicit the assistance or support of this brand of Northern white men and shall vote according to the dictates of his own conscience when the amendment comes before the voters of the several states for ratification.

Some of our Southern brethren are apprehensive lest such legislation pave the way for the abolishment of the separate schools, separate coaches and be the means for instituting racial intermarriage and "Negro domination." Don't laugh, dear reader.

In the meantime let these proponents and opponents remember that the most vital issue confronting the American nation today is the successful prosecution of the present war and The Observer is of the opinion that it would be a capital idea to turn their journalistic guns off the Negro question and turn their military rifles on the Germans.

There are some things due us in this country that we shall never enjoy until the Federal government says that it must be so.

When the governmental machinery is put into operation to punish and eradicate lynching, then we can hope for Judge Lynch to lose some of his grip on the American white people and mob-ocratic demonstrations will occur with less frequency.

Unless the South is willing to permit us to vote, then Congress should reduce its representation, for as it stands today we are counted IN when it comes to population for securing national representatives, but counted OUT at the polls when it comes to expressing an opinion with the ballot.

Let those who are uneasy and alarmed lest the Negro be treated as a real American citizen make up their minds to accord us all the rights and privileges due citizens of this commonwealth and the old Ship of State will be accelerated in its journey to the haven of real, honest-to-goodness democracy. To do otherwise will endanger the ship of an attack beneath the water and destruction will be inevitable.

THE NEGRO VOTE
In his recent address before a mass meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Reverend Thos. J. Goodall made a strong plea for colored men to qualify themselves for the suffrage exercise. "Most of our disfranchisement," he said, "is by forfeiture and negation. We do not seek to know the law governing the ballot; we do not endeavor to meet the simple requirements set up by the

states and hence, we largely eliminate ourselves.

Savannah Tribune
"Here in Georgia, the requirements are so simple and reasonable that a man would not be a good citizen, could not exercise and discharge the duties of citizenship if he could not qualify under some one or other of the several conditions; and in those cases where Negroes are illegally and unjustly denied the right of registration, they should not be satisfied until the courts have ruled upon the conduct of preju-

diced registrars."

This analysis and summarization of this vexing problem in this section appears to us to be about the most plausible solution which we have heard, and we think that leaders should bring this situation forcibly and regularly before their bodies, instructing them to fit themselves fully and well for registration, and prevailing upon them to turn out in large numbers, pay their poll tax and register.

It is no doubt largely true that Negroes have lost out to a great extent by disuse and neglect of such little opportunity in this line as they once had, and equally true that to a large extent the coveted privilege may be recovered. In any case we have got to keep on fighting for this deserved and logical attribute of citizenship, unceasingly, until we have won out.

Constitutional amendments guaranteeing the ballot to the Negro, and giving Congress power to enforce it in the states, have not been abridged or repealed, and Negro people themselves must unite to defeat and destroy forever technicalities and circumventions which contravene our citizenship rights.

The ballot is the only effective weapon of citizenship.

A NEW PARTY'S PLANK.

Party platforms are said by the cynical to be constructed as a means of entrance into office. But sometimes they may represent a sincere sentiment on the part of their advocates. *May 4, 1918.*

The newly organized National party, in its recent convention held at Chicago, adopted a Negro plank, a thing so unfashionable in modern politics as to deserve more than passing notice. The plank reads:

"We demand enforcement of the laws which give the right to vote to American citizens of Negro descent, and, in order that they and others may be fitted to vote intelligently, we advocate federal aid to common school education, to be distributed among sections in proportion to the amount of illiteracy." This was not in the original tentative platform.

The National party is composed of Progressive partyites, Socialists, Singletaxers and Prohibitionists, a number of the latter having joined it, after failing to effect a union of the parties at the Prohibition national convention.

Organizing to Defend The American System.

Advertised

James Callaway in Macon Telegraph.

The American Constitutional League with headquarters at 726 Fourteenth street N. W., Washington, D. C., president, Hon. Charles S. Fairchild, who was Secretary of the Treasury under Cleveland, has issued a "Constitutional Bulletin" to uphold and defend the Constitution. 3-20-18

It is a matter for rejoicing that a league has been formed to protect the Constitution from further invasion. When a Senator, "the whip" of the Democratic party in the Senate, declares to the world, Germany included, that forces are at work to repeal the Constitution and eliminate States and form a vast commonwealth, it is time to organize a league to defend an instrument that should be sacred to every American.

The Bulletin, among other things, says: "The American Constitutional League's sole object is to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States against all foreign and domestic enemies. It has no candidates for office. No political axe to grind. It desires to set forth facts rather than fiction on the fundamental principles of our government. It can afford to tell the truth. It defends either Democrats or Republicans against disloyal elements or unfair attacks, and any State or section of the country in maintaining its constitutional rights to local self-government."

How refreshing to know that such a league has been organized and located at Washington, where most needed.

Juggling Figures.

This bulletin, No. 1, is devoted to showing how the "vote-seekers" are juggling the United States census report to deceive especially Southern Senators about negroes. It exposes the bold attempt made by political profiteers to "put over" false figures and misstatements about the Southern States. To expose the falsity of the figures, it gives the actual figures and percentages for white and negro men and women of the eleven Southern States, as shown on pages 110 and 118 of the United States Census Abstract where the number of white men and negro men, white women and negro women for each of the Southern States are given.

In the table from the United States census it appears that while the white men over the whole eleven States outnumber the white women by a quarter of a million, the negro women outnumber the negro men. So with negro women voting the negro can more than double his political power, while the whites could not come within 250,000 votes of doubling white representatives, even if every white woman in the South voted.

The bulletin says: "In Mississippi and South Carolina the negroes outnumber the whites of both sexes and there are more negro women to white women than negro men to white men throughout the South. In 200 counties in these States, the negroes are in the majority, ranging all the way from three, four and up to six negroes to one white person in Lee county, Georgia. In sixty-six counties of Georgia the negroes have large majorities. In East Carroll county in Louisiana there are eight negroes to

one white person.

Political Profiteers.

The female political profiteers who appeared before the "Hearings" of the House committee on suffrage made the statement that in nine of the sixteen selected States of the South the white women outnumber the whole negro population. To prove their figures the suffrage table, for example, gives Virginia 671,096 "negro population" and 685,446 "white women." The actual number of white women, by the United States Census Abstract, page 118, is 353,556 instead of the 685,446 given in the suffrage table used before the House committee. The men were apt to believe that suffrage table because presented by women, who say they are in the business to "purify politics."

A similar deception was practiced in regard to each Southern State as was done about Virginia.

These suffragists claimed that the total negro population in these sixteen Southern States is 8,644,640 and the number of white women 10,661,926; that therefore there are 2,017,286 more white women in the Southern States than negro men and negro women put together.

The United States Census Abstract, page 118, shows that instead of 10,661,926 white women there are only 5,336,113 white women in these States, and they include five border States at that. When Cady Stanton and her disciples discard Moses and the Prophets and refuse to accept Jesus Christ and Him crucified, one must expect jugglery in political figures.

Again, says the bulletin, "We find that in trying to make their juggles even more deceptive, the suffragettes threw Oklahoma out of the West South Central group of States listed by the census, and substituted Missouri, a West North Central State. Why? Because Missouri has 847,997 white women and Oklahoma has only 311,566 white women. But the suffrage table does not stop at this. It gives Missouri 1,528,376 white women instead of the 847,997 shown in the United States census."

The suffragists seem to bank on the hope that men would take their word because they were women, and never look up the facts in the United States census, and they have been publishing similar tables for years.

The bulletin says: "No one condemns the thousands of good women who believe in woman suffrage, adopted State by State, by popular vote. But a movement must be judged by its leaders, rather than by the led."

"The female political profiteers who have placed a price on woman's patriotism, the women bosses who demand office and political reward for themselves in payment for the unselfish service of other women, the majority of whom are not suffragettes, have added new evidence of the 'purification' (?) practiced by the female politician when fully initiated into the ways of politics."

On Blushing.

The resort to deception in their tables or suffrage ought to bring a blush. But Cady Stanton and Susan Anthony were not of the blushing kind. They never blushed

when they banded together to help Thad Stevens put the fifteenth amendment on us, they never blushed when they walked arm in arm with Fred Douglass in the parks of Gerrit Smith, Nor do their followers blush when they wish to strangle the solid South, nor when they had the Poindexter resolution presented to Congress to cut down Southern representation; nor when they press their "force bill"—the Anthony amendment—and thus rob the States of the South of the right to regulate their own franchise, each State according to conditions. Nor did Mrs. Chapman Catt blush when she boldly declared: "If this Constitution is in our way, let us destroy it and make one to suit our creed." Nor did Mrs. Howard Gould have any blush or sense of shame when in her recent address to a large assembly of New York negroes she said: "Now that the black women of the North have political power they must band together in the interest of the black women of the South. You black people must strangle the solid South."

WILL MAKE FIGHT TO

GIVE NEGRO BALLOT

Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.
Washington, D. C.—The practice long in vogue in the South of parceling out Congress districts on the basis of population and then permitting only white men to vote is to be attacked by the Republicans the minute they assume control of the next Congress.

A measure will be introduced apportioning the number of representatives in each State on the basis of the vote cast and not by population.

That the bill can be put through there is no doubt, but whether it will ever become law depends on the attitude the President takes. The fact that the Negroes of the South were called upon without question to do their part in the war in the draft army and otherwise will be pressed by the Republicans as evidence of the feeling that they should receive the rights of citizens if they are to be called upon to perform the duties of citizens.

It is certain that Southern members of Congress will make a bitter fight against the innovation. It would mean that instead of the big delegation now in Congress from the Carolinas, Georgia, Texas, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Virginia and Tennessee there would be probably one-quarter as many.

PROTECTING THE BALLOT.

The excessive negro registration, much of it prima facie fraudulent, is to be investigated by the police. Such investigation, however superficial and hurried, will probably result in a long list of names of men who appear to have registered without legal right or in names other than their own. A stuffed registration roll, or one not purged of obsolete names, is a gold mine for the fraudulent voter, working under the direction of an experienced manipulator. In the past these experts have not been content to send men to the polls to vote in the names of dead men, absentees and fictitious names fraudulently put on the register, but have even had them vote the names of men who later came to the polls and found themselves marked "voted." It is to stop all this sort of fraud that this canvass is to be made and a close watch upon the polls is to be kept.

ST LOUIS MO STAR

OCTOBER 23, 1918

Our registration law is defective, else these things would not be possible. Two things are essential to an ideal registration law—prevention of illegal registration and complete identification of the man who offers to vote with the man who registered. Neither of these is achieved by the Missouri law. The purity of the lists would be better protected if we abandoned the local registration on a single day and permitted registration in the office of the Board of Election Commissioners any business day of the year, requiring the affidavit of two reputable citizens to the facts alleged by the person offering to register, under penalty of perjury. Then there should be such complete description and data of the registered person that it would be impossible for another to represent him at the polls.

There is not enough hunting down to the bitter end of men who register and vote fraudulently. We have a little flurry at election time and that is the end of it. The Board of Election Commissioners should be charged with the duty of purifying the register and prosecuting its violators and given the means with which to perform the task. An honest ballot is one of the foundation stones of democracy, that democracy our sons are giving their lives to protect.

NEWARK N. J. 10/23/18

INDEPENDENT COLORED VOTER.

Many efforts have been made by leader of the negro population in this state to create an independent political sentiment among the colored voters, and now there is evidence that these efforts will have a large measure of success.

A street scene in New York City. The main purpose of this organization is to discourage the notion that the negro vote as a whole is tied to one party kite or that it can be delivered to certain party leaders by those who claim to be the custodian of the negro vote.

The efforts in that direction should be toward cleaner politics as well as to give the negro a political standing higher than is now accorded to him by the political manipulators.

NEGRO REPUBLICAN

LEAGUE IS ACTIVE

MEMPHIS TENN. APPEAL

NOVEMBER 2, 1918

Letters Circulated in Interest of
Evans and Lindsay.

CLAIM ELECTION IS SURE

Officers of the Lincoln Republican
League Urge That Letter Be Read
in Churches and Lodges—Shrewd
Scheme Is Exposed.

The Lincoln Republican League of Tennessee, a political organization composed entirely of negroes, is sending out literature to the negroes of West Tennessee calling on them to go to the polls Tuesday and vote for H. Clay Evans for United States senator, H. B. Lindsay for governor and G. C. Taylor for railroad commissioner.

If any further evidences were needed to convince the white voters of this section that Republican leaders have been playing possum during recent months, in the hope of fooling Democratic voters in this state and electing their own nominees, this letter should convince. The letter follows:

"THE LINCOLN REPUBLICAN LEAGUE OF TENNESSEE.

"Memphis, Oct. 30, 1918.

"Dear Friend—On Tuesday, Nov. 5, there will be an election in this state. The Republican candidates to be voted for on that day are:

"For Governor—H. B. Lindsay.
"For United States Senator—H. Clay Evans.

"For Railroad Commissioner—George C. Taylor.

"Our slogan is 'Win the war quick' to an 'unconditional surrender.' Nothing is more important in the present than breaking our political chains. Second in importance is standing by and with those who give a hand when it takes a man to give that hand. All of the above candidates believe in a Republican party built on character and loyalty, not on color and caste. To vote for them is to vote for both friends and Republicans. To refuse them support is to stand in the light and make men wonder if we would be free.

"The result will be close, and we can win if you do your part. Enclosed find some ballots; give them to your friends, go to the polls early, see that your neighbor does the same thing. Vote this ballot and no other. The result depends on you. Read this letter in your church and lodge. If you do these things we will put Tennessee in the Republican column just as sure as the sun shines. Write us how the situation is in your district. We must 'win the war quick' to an 'unconditional surrender,' and remember the words of our own Douglass, 'The Republican party is the ship, all else the sea.' Respectfully,

"THE LINCOLN REPUBLICAN LEAGUE OF TENNESSEE.

"R. R. CHURCH, President.
"WAYMAN WILKERSON,

"Vice President.
"T. H. HAYES, Vice Pres.
"J. T. SETTLE, Secretary."

It was this same Lincoln League that a few years ago nominated and supported negro candidates for Congress and the state Senate and Legislature.

Whether or not the Republican party in Tennessee, led by H. Clay Evans and H. B. Lindsey and backed by the Lincoln League, shall be successful at the polls on Nov. 5 depends on the Democratic majority in West Tennessee.

The defeat of John K. Shields for United States senator will be a repudia-

tion of President Wilson and his policies.

It is up to the Democrats of Shelby County and West Tennessee to see to it that the national administration is indorsed in this crisis and the state of Tennessee saved from Republican misrule.

ON SPLITTING THE

COLORED VOTE.

Elsewhere we publish an editorial from the Southwestern Christian Advocate in which comment is made on the local Republicans proposing jim crow cars, and in which it is suggested that we split our vote.

We have heard from our youth up the theory of dividing the vote—and it is a beautiful theory. But isn't the theory of massing our vote and throwing it to the best racial advantage just as good?

Suppose the ten thousand Colored votes of Louisville were massed under the leadership of upright, honorable men, unpurchasable and non-office seeking, who would take up with the bosses of each party, the matter of patronage and race treatment, etc. And suppose those leaders could really command the votes, doesn't it look a pretty proposition?

But this is impracticable. We have never learned the lesson of unity. We have never learned to be good followers. Jealousies and enmities mark our leadership on one hand, while catering to the White man for money or popularity, or personal favors, marks it on the other. After all, to split the vote and even having a few going into the unpopular, with us, parties is better.

We hope there will be a split this November, a great big ripping Split, that will knock all lily-whiteism out of the Republican party.

Negro Voters Organize

to Back Medill McCormick

CHICAGO ILL TRIBUNE

MAY 24, 1918

The candidacy of Congressman Medill McCormick for the United States senate was indorsed last night at a meeting of Negro voters, who took the preliminary steps toward the formation of a county organization which will be active in the coming campaign.

The meeting was held at 3032 Wabash avenue and the following officers were elected: James G. Cotter, chairman; William H. Clark, vice chairman; William Randolph Cowan, treasurer; and James T. Brewington, secretary.

The resolutions indorsing Congressman McCormick were presented by Beauregard F. Moseley. The new organization will affiliate with the Brun-

dage loyalist organization.

The Negro Voter

N.Y.C. CALL

NOVEMBER 3, 1918

NO section of the population of the United States has been more of a stamping ground for professionals of politics than the Negro race. Negroes have been more often swindled than helped by white men, and for that reason they have been suspicious of every advance made by the latter. Many of them are coming to realize that the gospel of "thrift" and submission to injustice expounded by the late Booker T. Washington is an illusion, so far as results are concerned. They are more open to new ideas today than at any other period in their tragic history.

The Socialist party has nominated a number of Negroes for public office, not because they are Negroes, but because they are Socialists and represent the workers of all colors and nationalities. The party draws no race or color lines, and makes no appeals to race or nationality.

This was bound to produce a reaction, especially in the 21st Congress district, where George Frazier Miller is the Socialist candidate. A Harlem publication smears its front page with an attack unusually virulent and ignorant of the claims of the Socialist party. When a publication can assert that "Socialism is for your country and for you the reign of terror, the arson, the rape and pillage of Bolshevism," it can only fill one with a sense of disgust.

Fitting enough, a leader filled with this stuff ends with an appeal for support of the Republican candidate and the Republican party. It was the Republican party that joined with its Democratic rival in leaving the Negro to the tender mercies of the white aristocracy of the South. Both share responsibility for a condition in the South that is not duplicated in its heartlessness in any part of Junker Europe. As a subject race, it is entitled to submit its case at the bar of humanity. It is as much entitled to a hearing as any small nationality or subject race. Yet it has been ignored by the two-party alliance of capitalism in its own country. That the grafters who have preyed upon the trust and confidence of the Negro should resort to such an appeal as we have quoted above would indicate that they are not quite so sure of the Negro vote this year. For the welfare of the Negro workers, we hope they will verify the fears of the politicians.

CALL TO COLORED VOTERS

ATLANTA N.Y. DISPATCH

MAY 4, 1918

Conference to Be Held for Formation of State Republican Organization.

A call to the colored voters of the State has been issued for a conference to be held at the A. M. E. Zion Memorial Church at Rochester on Thursday, May 30, for the purpose of perfecting a State Republican organization, for the better protection of the social and political condition of the colored people. All Republican organizations are requested to send delegates and all Republican voters are invited.

The program for the occasion will include addresses by Mayor Hiram H. Edgerton and the Hon. Edward A. Johnson of New York City, the first colored man to be elected a member of the New York State Assembly.

ALBANY N.Y. PRESS

MAY 18, 1918

THE SOUTH'S ALTERNATIVE.

Various spokesmen for the south are beginning at length to take to heart Colonel Watterson's warning that the imposition upon the north of unwelcome constitutional amendments will mean the enforcement by the north of constitutional amendments unwelcome to the south, which the south has long evaded. Judge Edgar M. Cullen's recent statement that "it will not be tolerated that, when New York is forced to obey an eighteenth amendment, Mississippi may ignore or evade the fifteenth amendment," has crystallized the argument. In reply, the south asserts, in effect, that, no matter what happens, it will never endure "negro domination"—that is, it will never permit the negroes to vote.

What the south seems to have overlooked is that there is an alternative contained in the amendments which it has so long nullified. While the fifteenth amendment provides that "the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," and the south has escaped the operation of this amendment by denying the right of franchise on other grounds, the fourteenth amendment provides that

"when the right to vote is denied * * * or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein (that is, in congress and in the electoral college) shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state."

So, then, the south may persist in its disfranchisement of negroes if it desires, but when the time comes for the enforcement of all the amendments to the Constitution it will have, in that case, to give up that disproportionate and unjust representation in congress and in the electoral college which has been the means of establishing southern influence in the nation.

2ND WARD COLORED

REPUBLICANS MEET

ATLANTA N.Y. REVIEW

MAY 30, 1918

The Second Ward Colored Republican Association held its regular weekly meeting at 1201 Baltic avenue and the meeting was largely attended. Several new members were admitted to membership. There were reports from the various committees. It was voted to add two members to the executive committee, Rev. Gregory and Mr. Carey Truehart being added. There were some very interesting remarks made by Messrs. Coles, Funtley, Truehart, Debois and Cordle. C. Lewis, president; J. Titus Brown, secretary.

Political - 1918

Suffrage

NEGROES HEAR QUALIFICATIONS OF CANDIDATES

DES MOINES IA. NEWS

APRIL 8 1918

Echoes of "The Birth of a Nation" were heard for the first time Wednesday night when all the municipal candidates addressed negro voters at a mass meeting at Dreamland dance hall Wednesday night.

Next to the stand of councilmen on that picture, representation of the race in city government was the next topic of discussion. One good brother, speaking for representation of his race, announced that he had a considerable following, and that he wasn't selling out for any \$1.50 or \$2.00.

Hill Not There

E. T. Warren represented Steve Hill on the platform, while "Tine" Sims, Hill's steering committee, represented him in the back of the house with heart-to-heart talks to the negro proletariat.

Coleman's All-Star Entertainers sang "corruptions" of popular songs, bringing in the names of candidates. Their song said Fairweather should go back to the city hall. Sam Zion, a candidate, was praised as a good fellow for getting all the boys into a show, but when they arrived they found all the seats in the back row.

Fred Carss avowed he was "coming out on a natural next Monday," and they could lay their money on his dice. In speaking of taxation, he asserted that someone had "sure run in a pair of horse-dice in this game."

Greene Draws Cheers

Robert A. Greene called the councilmen's bluff by getting wild cheers when he asked the voters if they had received proper representation. The reply of "no" came from every part of the house.

Ben Woolgar was there with his promise—to give them more consideration if re-elected.

Tom Fairweather was cheered when he told them that he was running the only amusement institution in the city where a black man's 50 cents was as good as a white man's.

At 87, Ezra Meeker, blazer of trails and one of the most picturesque pioneers of the old west, still showing the way. Too old to fight, he is devoting himself to war relief work. He is here seen riding a bullet-riddled stage coach of the wild days thru the streets of Seattle Wash., to advertise a girls' benefit bazaar for soldiers.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

~~THE~~ CUTTING OFF YOUR NOSE to spite your face is rather a drastic measure practiced only by people who are partially bereft of their reason. The South, the same as other sections of the country, believes women should have a voice in making the laws of the country, or in selecting those who do make the laws. But they have been most aggressive in opposing the amendments of bills before congress that had for their object the giving to women the right of ballot, for the reason that black as well as white would have the same privilege, and rather than have this state of affairs it is decreed no woman shall have this boon.

Just like the South, certainly. Any other expression from that section would be against their principles and old traditions. The old fossil ideas still remain to poison the blood of the new generation. This is why the rest of the country has advanced and left the South one hundred years behind the times. Just so long as they waste their time in an effort to keep under cover a certain supposedly inferior portion of their body politic, just so long will they themselves remain a negligible quantity in the seething mass of hustling Americans who have made this the greatest country on the face of the globe.

Instead of accepting what they really want and taking what they don't want—much as one would take a dose of bitter medicine, believing it will be for the best in the long run—they plan all day and lie awake nights scheming how to carry out their point. This from an editor of one of the largest Texas dailies is representative: "There is nothing in the past political history of the South to justify the fear that Negro women would prove a political menace were the federal amendment adopted." We agree with this learned scribe; the fears of the rabble are unfounded. The southern states have found a way to retain the supremacy of the white man at the polls and it is safe to believe they will do likewise where our women are concerned.

The "grandfather clause," the "white man's primary," the "educational qualification," all are measures that have proved effective in keeping southern political supremacy in the hands of the white men, and that despite the constitutional amendment ratified as the southern confederacy collapsed. It is too bad to make the women of the country suffer the loss of their rights just because a certain class are opposed to anything helpful to our people. We have nothing but pity for them, blind creatures, throwing sand in their own eyes that they may become still more blind. The fight for woman's suffrage is a big one and we play only an insignificant part—owing to our limited number—in sections other than the South. It is the white man's burden truly, but in this, our country, everything that concerns an American citizen concerns us. What a wonderful place this will be when I know you and you know me, for after all only harmony can prevail where there is a perfect understanding. When women are given an opportunity to help make and enforce our laws, when politicians come with clean hands, and come to serve and not be served, we will enjoy true democracy, but not till then.

BREAKING THE SOLID SOUTH.

In an interview given out last week, Will H. Hays, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, stated that he was about to tackle the solid South in a serious effort to upheave the Democratic foundations.

Mr. Hays is reported as favoring the establishment of Southern headquarters at Asheville, N. C.; Knoxville, Tenn., or Atlanta, Ga.,

and making a campaign for electoral votes in 1920.

Members of the Democratic National Committee, are of course, interested in the movement. They realize that a break in the solid South on national issues would cripple the Democratic party; in fact, would really put it out of business. They express the opinion, however, that the Republicans will find the job such a troublesome one that they will give it up.

Leaders of the Democratic party point out what they believe to be two serious problems that the Republicans will have to face and solve in working out the plan which Mr. Hays contemplates. They say that as soon as the Republicans begin to encourage the Negro vote in the South, they will stir up such bitter race animosities that the entire white vote will be more solidly unified. They also say that, on the other hand, if the Republicans disregard or discourage the Negro vote of the South, the Negro voters of the North, East and West will show resentment against the party for its neglect or elimination of their brothers in the South.

The Republican leaders are making much of the fact that the returning colored soldiers will be entitled to vote regardless of the various qualifications which are laws in the Southern states; and there is no doubt that this fact is already worrying political leaders in those Southern states where the Democratic margin is narrow.

Breaking the solid South is a game that the Republican party has played at several times before; and each time it has done so with no benefit to the party and a great deal of damage to the Negro. All colored citizens who are familiar with political history in the Southern states know the results of the "Lily White" movements.

Nothing that could happen would bring greater political good to the county in general and the Negro in particular than the breaking of the solid South. Political independence of the white South would mean the political independence of the black South. But we see no hope of bringing this about through the methods that have heretofore been employed by the Republican party.

What have these methods been? Northern Republicans have flirted with Southern Democrats, and the Democrats have told the Republicans that if the Negro were eliminated there would be some chance of the Republican party carrying some of the Southern states. The result has been that the Negro was eliminated and the states of the solid South remained, as before, in the Democratic column.

On his home ground, the Southern Democrat is a better politician than the Northern Republican. The Republican goes into the South on a mission; he is entertained as only the Southerner knows how to entertain; he glows under such generous hospitality, and he says to himself, "Why, these are the finest people in the world"; then tales of the ignorance, vice and general worthlessness of the Negro are poured into his ears, and he reaches the conclusion that the colored brother is both a handicap and a detriment to the party. It is largely through such processes that the Negro has been politically eliminated.

We want to see the solid South broken, it would be a good thing for the country and for the South, but we do not want to see it done by sacrificing the Negro.

The great danger for us in any coming together of the North and the South is that it generally is not a coming together, but a going

over of the North to the South. So far as the interests of the Negro go, and a conflict between the North and the solid South is better than an alliance. Experience shows that whenever the North and the solid South have come together on the Negro, the Negro has either been squeezed out or smothered between the two.

Of course, the conditions in the doubtful states of the border are different. The effort to put those states in the Republican column can be made through a legitimate political contest. Both parties can place their candidates, their speakers, their workers and their campaign literature in the field, and make an appeal on men and issues for the votes of the people. But no such methods can be attempted, much less carried out, in Georgia and South Carolina and Mississippi. In these states of the real solid South the attempt could be made only through a deal, and a deal that would involve the elimination of the Negro.

Let the Republican party, by all means, make strenuous effort to break the solid South, but not by sacrificing the Negro. Let it make active campaigns in the border states, and on the solid South let it bring pressure, the pressure of a reduction of representation, if necessary.

The solid South should be broken, for it is the strangler of liberty in the South itself and a menace to the whole country; but in our opinion it cannot be broken through compromise, it must be broken by force.

IGNORING THE COLOR LINE

The Chicago Defender
IN EVERY IMPORTANT and essential particular we believe in and advocate Race unity. Nothing can ever be accomplished along political or any other lines unless there is union and harmony among ourselves. The absence of such union and harmony in the past is undoubtedly the principal reason why more has not been accomplished and why more material progress has not been made. In making this statement it must not be understood that the race line should be drawn in politics. The primary object and purpose of the Race union and harmony referred to is to influence political parties to accord to us consideration and recognition of which we would otherwise be deprived. In other words, if we say nothing and do nothing it will be assumed that we are satisfied with what we have, and that there is no just cause for complaint on our part. If we have grievances we cannot have them remedied if we do not make them known. In this way we will be contributing to the creation of a public sentiment which will ultimately remedy the evils of which we complain.

But if an attempt is made on our part to draw the race line in politics, it will have a tendency to retard and prevent, rather than to encourage and promote, the objects and purposes desired. In a recent political campaign one of the candidates gave expression in a public communication to the following: "This movement, composed of the most representative men and women of the ward, is here to stay, and demands that wherever the Race is numerically in the majority, whether in the precinct or in the ward, there the Race shall control." The above is an unwise and an unfortunate expression and should never have been used. The colored American cannot afford to draw the color line in politics, or support, countenance or encourage any one

in an effort to do so.

That is what we have continually and consistently condemned and denounced in the Democratic party. The Democratic is the party that is chiefly and primarily responsible for racial proscription, political discrimination and official segregation. We deny that this is a white man's government simply because the white people are in the majority. On the contrary, we claim that it is or it should be a government of all classes of which the citizenship is composed, without distinction or discrimination based upon differences of race, color, nationality or religion. This, we contend, is the true and genuine type of Democracy. Consequently a colored American has as much right as a white American to aspire to a position in localities where the whites are in a majority. In like manner a white American has as much right as a colored American to aspire to a position in localities where the colored people are in the majority.

Then again, the fact must not be overlooked that ours is a government of parties. Persons are elected or defeated for office, or should be, on account of their political or party affiliations and not on account of their race identity. Let us suppose the Democrats nominated a colored man in a locality in which the colored people were in the majority and the Republicans nominated a white man in the same locality; according to the logic set forth by the candidate above quoted it would be the duty of the colored voters of that locality to ignore party lines and vote for the colored candidate solely on account of his race identity, which means, of course, that the white people of that locality would be expected to vote in a solid mass for the white candidate for the same reason. An issue of this sort is unwise, mischievous and dangerous, for by raising the color line the ultimate harm resulting therefrom will overbalance any temporary advantage that may be secured.

The Afro American March 22, 1918
Katherine Clemmons Gould, white, who championed the cause of Reverdy C. Ransom for representative to Congress from a New York District and later left the new National Party because it would not include in its platform an equal rights plank, has been speaking frankly to newspaper reporters, who asked her reasons for her position on the race question. In Chicago she said:

"We are supposed to be a democratic people. We are quite willing to allow Negroes to go into this war for democracy, to put on the uniform of the army and give their lives for the country, but if we are to be a real democracy, there is as much reason for permitting a Negro to sit in Congress as there is in allowing him to die for his country."

"The war is being fought for one of two things—democracy or graft, and if it is for democracy, the black man must have his chance as well as the white man."

NEW YORK GLOBE OCTOBER 9, 1918 Jewish Sympathy With Negroes

Editor Globe:—The recent debate on the suffrage amendment in the Senate brings to light again the great question of political freedom for the Negro in the southern states of the Union. Some of the statements made in the Senate by Southern representatives would seem to justify the belief that the south is still under the domination of Simon Legree. Time and again southern senators repeated the statements that their states had enacted legislation calculated to de-

prive the Negro of his right to vote, which they admitted quite freely was in violation of the federal constitution. President Wilson's magnificent address in the Senate made little headway against the medieval views of these southern Tories. Verily, it was like unto casting pearls before swine. With thousands of Negroes in the trenches, fighting on the frontier of freedom, it occurs to me that it is little short of treason, even for a senator, to give voice to utterances such as those made by Senator James K. Vardaman of Mississippi. The German propagandists would have difficulty in finding more

suitable material for spreading the belief among our colored population that we are not fighting for democracy than the speech delivered by this reactionary politician, who fortunately will not longer disgrace the Senate by being listed as one of its members. Permit me to quote a passage that is typical of his entire address:

"The military Negro out of harness is a menace to the peace and prosperity of any country governed by the white man. As stated before, this war is going to intensify the difficulties which must be met at first by the southern white people. The arrogance and impudence of the ex-Negro soldier will greatly enhance the white man's burden. The discussion of this matter should not excite the ire of the northern statesman or offend the pretended patriotism of the average private citizen."

"The southern states of America present the only instance in the world's history where two races, equal in number, differing radically in racial traits and qualifications, have lived in the same country side by side for half a century, invested with equal political rights, without amalgamating, or one race expelling or exterminating the other. That has been accomplished in the south by the white men of the south by force of superior mentality and taking the matter in hand, often in violation of the letter and spirit of the Federal Constitution, and keeping up racial barriers and guarding with drawn sword the portals of the homes wherein dwells the purity of the Caucasian race."

Such sentiments present themselves with peculiar interest to the Jewish people, who, now at the dawn of a new era of social and political equality all over the world, can look back to the time when similar arguments were made by narrow-minded bigots in the different parliaments of Europe, for the disenfranchisement of mine own people. But to-day, thank God, the times are different. ALEXANDER FISHMAN.

Brooklyn, Oct. 3.

Gaston Denies Negro Vote Elected Father Mayor of Gainesville ATLANTA GA MAY 27, 1918

J. B. Gaston, Jr., of Atlanta, son of the late Judge J. B. Gaston, of Gainesville, has written a card to the papers defending his father against the charges and insinuations contained in the speech of Colonel H. H. Dean, of Gainesville, candidate for United States senator, which he delivered Saturday in Athens.

Mr. Gaston resents the inference conveyed by Colonel Dean that Judge Gaston was elected mayor of Gainesville, defeating Colonel Dean, by virtue of the negro vote, "which Colonel Dean charges that my father and his supporters corralled in halls, fed and furnished liquor all night and then marched to the polls in a drive early next morning."

Mr. Gaston asserts that, "Colonel Dean knows this was not the case when my father was elected over him;" and further asserts that his father in his several campaigns always received the smallest negro vote, and never exerted himself to secure any of it.

As to the elimination of negroes from Gainesville politics, Mr. Gaston declares that Colonel Dean was not responsible for it, but the disfranchisement law passed by the legislature.

Political - 1918

Suffrage

"Solid South" Broken

By Senators in Vote on

Suffrage Amendment

Editor Constitution: Pressure of work has prevented an earlier letter to express our appreciation of the splendid editorial in The Constitution on the federal suffrage amendment, entitled "Victory Deferred." In the hundreds of editorials on this subject which have been received, none made a more forceful comment on the action of the small minority in the United States senate which defeated this amendment. It is especially noteworthy as coming from one of the leading papers of the south, when that section of the country is so largely responsible for the defeat. Not only did both of the senators from Georgia vote against it, but this was done also by the entire delegation from that state in the lower house of congress, when the amendment was before it. While this was done on the ground that the state had a right to decide this matter for itself, the fact stands out prominently that the women of Georgia have never been able to persuade the legislature to submit the question to the voters and let them decide it. In other words, the women of Georgia are refused a chance to obtain the suffrage either by national or state action.

It is unfortunate for President Wilson and for the democratic party that they must carry this handicap of the so-called "solid south" on this progressive measure, but happily the south is no longer "solid," for it is a noteworthy fact that twelve senators from southern states voted in favor of this federal amendment on October 1—one from Maryland, two from West Virginia, one from Tennessee, one from Kentucky, one from Mississippi, one from Louisiana, two from Texas, two from Arkansas, one from Missouri. To these might perhaps be added the two from Oklahoma. In the lower house forty-eight southern representatives (fifty-six including Oklahoma) voted in favor of this federal amendment last January, which certainly shows advance. Until the present year no southern legislature ever has submitted a woman suffrage amendment to its state constitution, but at last this has been done by that of Louisiana, and the electors will vote on it November 5. The greatest interest will be felt in the result, as, should it be carried, this action will undoubtedly be followed by other states in the south. In Arkansas they vote on a new constitution at a special election December 14, and, as it contains a clause giving to women exactly the same voting rights as men, this also will be a most important test case of southern sentiment.

We thank The Constitution for its continued support of the enfranchisement of women and trust that its influence may be shown when the senate again takes a vote, which will probably be before the Christmas holidays.

IDA HUSTED HARPER,

Editorial Chairman, Leslie Suffrage Bureau
New York, October 18.

COUNTY TAX COLLECTOR HALTED THEIR REGISTRATION; N. A. A. C. P. TAKES HAND

Despite Great World War For Democracy and Human Rights, Houston Officials and Others of Like ilk Are Making America Unsafe for the Colored American — White Women Objected to Colored Women Registering, Because of the Large Number of Race Registrants — Appealed to Harris County Tax Collector — He Ruled That Only White Women Were Qualified to Register — Turned Down Female Force of American Mutual — Local Branch N.A.A.C.P. Served Notice of Protest and Mandamus — Tax Collector Phoned That His Department Was in Error — Colored Women Now Registering As a Consequence.

When Messrs. J. B. Grigsby and N. Dudley accompanied the female members of the clerical department of the American Mutual Benefit Association to the county court house Wednesday, for the latter to register, they were informed by the white women present that they could not register because they could not vote in the "white man's" primary, which will be held Saturday, July 27, and then instructed them to see A. R. (Huldy) Miller, tax collector for the county. He told the delegation that the law was specific in stating that only WHITE WOMEN were eligible to register and if they wanted to register, they would have to resort to some other method of securing the right.

Whereupon Mr. Grigsby informed him that the colored people of Houston and Harris County would "go the limit" in seeing that our women register as other women, and that voting was not the question: they came to register and not to vote. The delegation came from the court house and on its way back to the office met Editor C. F. Richardson of The Observer, who is also secretary of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and told him of their trouble and embarrassment.

In keeping with Mr. Grigsby's statement that we would "go the limit," several members of the executive committee of the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P. held a meeting in The Observer's sanctum immediately, and after hearing a full report of the inci-

dent, Attorney W. M. C. Dickson, also a member of the N. A. A. C. P. executive committee, was employed to file a protest against the denial of our women to register and then if that brought no results, a mandamus was the next thing on the program.

The lawyer retired to his office and prepared the protest, and just as the committee was leaving The Observer office with the same for the office of the tax collector, Mr. Grigsby was called back for a telephone message, which came from the tax collector, who stated that they had looked up the law pertaining to the registration of women and that they were in error about colored women not being permitted to register; apologized for the error and asked Mr. Grigsby to bring his force back and register.

The time has come for the colored man to fight for his rights and the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is determined not to be a slacker in this respect.

Not to be outdone the colored women are not permitted to register at the same table with the white women, yet their sons, brothers, fathers and sweethearts are registering on the same battlefield together. Seats are provided for the white women who are forced to wait, while colored women must stand. In other words, "colored women," they say by their action, "you can register, if you want to be segregated." We wonder if they are pursuing such a program in France! Yet we are fighting for—ah! what's the use of repeating that phrase!

As the further evidence of this species of civilization and enlightenment, the white women are registered by white female clerks, while colored women are registered by male clerks. Some consistency!

The following is the attorney's document:

July 3, 1918.

Hon. Tax Collector in and for
Harris County, Texas,
City of Houston.

Dear Sir:—

The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, acting in behalf of the prospective women voters of the Colored Race in Houston and Harris County, respectfully call your attention to the refusal in your office, July 3, 1918, to allow colored women to register for suffrage rights during the year 1918.

We protest against this refusal at your hands, or at the hands of your office force, and ask that provision be made and that colored women be allowed registration to which we believe they are entitled under the law.

House Bill No. 105, Chapter 35, of the General Laws passed by the Fourth Called Session of the Thirty-fifth Legislature, provides in Section 1. "From and after the passage of this Act any woman, who possesses the other qualifications of an elector under the Constitution and laws of this State, shall have the right to vote at any and all primary elections or nominating conventions held under the laws of this State, and the fact or her sex shall in no wise disqualify such person, provided the payment of a poll tax shall in no case be required of such person as a qualification to vote in such primary elections or to participate in such nominating conventions during the year 1918."

We only ask for our portion under

the law, and shall contend for same until a rightly constituted authority says that we are not within our right under the law; but until we are given such adverse decision by such authority, we shall spare no pains to secure for our women this right which seems plain under the law.

Trusting that you will at once give this matter your attention, and that it may be properly adjusted without further ado, we are,

Very respectfully,

Houston Branch, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE,

Per

H. L. Mims, President,
C. F. Richardson, Secretary.
C. A. Gilmore,
Wm. Nickerson, Jr.,
W. M. C. Dickson,

Members Executive Committee.

NEGRO VOTERS PLAN

STRENUOUS CAMPAIGN

NEWARK N. J. LEDGER

Members of the Essex County Colored Republican Association will hold a mass meeting at Unity Hall, William and Washington streets, Monday evening. Alfred G. Gibson, chairman of the association, will preside. Plans for day and night campaigns to run until November 5 will be completed. All voters will be urged to be present. The speakers will be Isaac H. Nutter, Atlantic City; Powell K. Martin, Camden; ex-Congressman Murray, of South Carolina, and W. W. Fleming, of Richmond, Va.

THIS IS the Week's News

Two white Americans have spoken during the week. One was Julius Rosenwald, the great Jew, who is in Europe overseeing the work of the Jewish welfare board. In letters received in Chicago Mr. Rosenwald said:

Americans Doing Wonders

"What our people have accomplished industrially beats anything one could have dreamed of, but that's too long a story," he wrote.

In a letter written Sept. 10 he said in part:

"It rained all day yesterday and the day before that. Both days I tramped about in mud up to my knees. I have spoken forty-one times so far.

"I saw my first sign of war aside from men in uniform as soon as we got outside of Paris—trucks, or big auto trucks, by the score, loaded with men and materials. I saw about a thousand in three days.

"Every town we passed through had numbers of American soldiers.

Speaks for Race Soldiers

"When speaking to my boys I usually close my talk by telling them what they must make of America when they return—a real nation, all belonging to each other. And these boys are demonstrating in the army that men from all places have faults and virtues, but all are made of the right stuff. The same way with the nationalities—no more prejudices against people who come from other countries, if they are Americans.

"Then I tell of other civic matters pertaining to politics and often I tell them what a disgrace to our country is our treatment of the Negro—that it is not a square deal. And the boys like it.

"I have five appointments today and must start on the first one now at a hospital. On Saturday last I was at one of the largest flying schools, spoke there twice in Y. M. C. A. huts. Slept on an iron cot at a Red Cross place where several women have erected a portable house. These women certainly work like Trojans."

The Other Speaker

Now another American spoke. His name is John Sharp Williams, the Mississippi senator. He was holding the floor in congress on the woman suffrage question. Read his outburst:

The South Speaks

Senator Williams declared he "loved the president personally perhaps better than any other man in the senate," but that he was unable to follow him on suffrage.

"When the President says we can't lick Ludendorff, scare Bulgaria, and reconquer Palestine because Nigger women in Mississippi can't vote, I decline to agree with him," said the senator.—From the Associated Press report of the suffrage debate, Oct. 1.

Worth Reading This

Next week in the Chicago Defender the stirring letter of Race leaders in Arkansas addressed to the Chamber of Commerce, as printed in the Pine Bluff Daily Tribune, will be reproduced word for word. Everybody ought to read what they told the whites about Race women picking cotton. It is worth reading.

LET'S HAVE DEMOCRACY AT HOME.

The Observer's position in denouncing and condemning certain undemocratic and un-American practices that are daily accorded the race in the country and particularly the South, has been severely criticised by some. *4-20-18*

But this paper shall continue to fight those practices until they are stopped or time shall be no more, despite what men may say concerning our contention.

Take the election for mayor of this city, occurring today and note how they dodged a general election and operated the "white man's primary" in order that the colored man might not have an opportunity to express his choice in selecting the man who is to head the municipal government and whose salary our taxes help to pay.

When it comes to voting and enjoying the full privileges of American citizens, the race is conspicuous by its absence.

This "white man's primary" is nothing more nor less than disfranchisement, for while it presumably excludes colored men because of party affiliation, on the other hand white republicans can vote and do vote in all the city and county elections. Hence you see it is not a party issue, but a racial issue.

Enemy aliens and foreign riffraff and hoi polloi can vote in all elections; at least they voted until the attorney general's ruling a few weeks ago anent aliens voting, who had not taken out their naturalization papers.

Thousands of colored citizens, who own their homes and pay their taxes and obey the laws of the commonwealth, are not considered as much as cattle when it comes to selecting the men to rule them and their fellow-constituents.

Several members of the race in this city have given their sons to fight for this country and to die, if need be, for the perpetuity, peace and progress of this Republic; yet these selfsame citizens cannot exercise the ballot only on bond issues, or prohibition, excluding the national elections.

Since Texas has practically gone dry or at least will be in the next few weeks, and since no bond issues will be presented during the war, the colored citizen is a political nonentity in Houston, despite such progressive cities as Dallas, Galveston, San Antonio, et al., have seen the error of their previous political system and have removed all barriers that would prevent a man voting for city and county officials on account of the voter's color.

The colored citizens of Houston are anxious to wield their elective franchise rights in all elections, as other American citizens, and they will not be satisfied until the present system is abolished and a more democratic one inaugurated.

It appears to The Observer that if members of the race are expected to buy Liberty Loan Bonds, War Savings and Thrift Stamps and perform other patriotic duties to liberate and free the world from autocracy and despotism, they should be recognized and regarded, as well as treated, like all other American citizens.

The patriotism of the colored man is unquestionable and unassailable, which cannot be said concerning others in this country

enjoying all the rights and privileges of American citizens, but which are denied and refused the citizens of color.

The philosophy of this proposition is both ludicrous and ridiculous.

The colored man can vote for bond issues and other propositions that require a good deal of gray matter and at times technical knowledge, but when it comes to voting for Jim Wilson for mayor or sheriff or what not, despite the fact that oftentimes they were reared together from boyhood, swam in the same pond together, played on the same lot together, ate at the same table together and know each other from A to Z, this colored citizen and friend cannot vote for his life-time white friend and former comrade in the days of youth.

There are some white men, who claim to be friends to the race, advising us to follow Booker T. Washington and not clamor for the ballot and trust everything to the good white people.

For the last fifty years the colored man has been soothed to sleep by the spurious influence of this propaganda, poppycock and bolsheviki and he has been the greatest sufferer.

The ballot is the greatest, most powerful and potent weapon of defense and any race that does not possess a vote is a tool and door-mat for the race or races possessing and holding authority.

We have entered the great world-wide war to make the world safe for democracy, which means that all men will be equal and enjoy equal opportunities and privileges.

If that be true, then the City of Houston and several other American communities must abolish their present undemocratic practices or secure a new name for their political religion.

**NEGRO VOTERS
HOLD RALLY TO
BOOST WILCOX**
BELOIT WIS NEWS
AUGUST 28, 1918
COLORED CITIZENS URGE ELECTION OF STATE SENATOR
OPPOSING PHILIPP.

Milwaukee Attorney 'And Madison
Leader Launch Fight On Governor's Renomination.

Colored citizens rallied to the standard of Senator Roy P. Wilcox in the latter's candidacy for nomination as governor against E. L. Philipp, at a conference at the home of W. S. Williams, St. Paul avenue, last night. Professor W. M. Gordon, Beloit, urged that ballots be cast for only 100 per cent. patriotic candidates. He said Wilcox is this kind of a man because he believes in the principles of true democracy.

J. Anthony Josey, Madison, asked colored men of the state to unite on one candidate to defeat Philipp. He said that in a speech Governor Philipp made the statement that colored people were not fitted to vote. He asked his hearers to show the governor he was mistaken.

Attorney George H. De Reef, Mil-

waukee, said that voting was not only the right of the negro but his duty to his country. He urged the election of Wilcox. He assailed Philipp's war stand and declared him to be a man of small vision. He further attacked Philipp for his alleged statement on May 30, 1916, in a speech at Baraboo, in which he intimated the negro is not qualified to vote. He warned members of the race to resist this attack upon them to the full extent of their power. He urged colored citizens of Beloit to cast their ballots for Wilcox and declared the senator had always been fair in his dealings with negroes thruout the state.

The Milwaukee attorney dismissed Tittmore's candidacy with the statement that a vote for him would be a vote lost as he has no chance for nomination.

De Reef closed his address with the reading of a message from Senator Wilcox in which the latter said:

"I make no specific promises, but if elected I shall so conduct the office of governor that no fair-minded man, whether white or black, shall have a just cause for complaint."

A large number of colored citizens were present. W. S. Williams presided.

Political - 1918

Suffrage

THE PRESIDENT APPEALS FOR VOTES

The President of the United States issued last Friday a remarkable appeal to the people of this country to vote for Democratic Congressmen in order that the next Congress shall be safely Democratic and that he might conduct the war in an unembarrassed way. The appeal is a personal appeal and will no doubt have weight with those to whom personal loyalty has been first call. The President feels that if a Republican majority should be sent to Congress he will be embarrassed, and the Allies will look upon it as a lack of confidence in our Chief Executive.

We cannot agree with our President. We very much regret that he should have come down from the high pedestal upon which he has been since he "adjourned politics" last spring to reconvene them at this time. As we have observed all parties were following the President—indeed the Republicans seemed to be following him in many essential war measures more closely than his own Democratic party.

If the Republicans had been opposed to the President's program we could see why he would need to call for their defeat. But it appears that the Republicans have shown unusual loyalty; for notwithstanding the President has failed to give them a single cabinet position, they have stood with him nearly always.

But the President appears to ignore what the Republicans have done and regardless of the merits of the case, he wants the country safe for the Democratic party. If the Democrats had more brains and more loyalty we might agree with him, but it does not appear that they have an excess of either over the Republicans.

We wish politics had stayed "adjourned." But since they have not we do not hesitate to suggest that the Democratic majority in Congress will do no good to our people.

We have all seen how "Jim Crowism" is steadily creeping all over this country, so that in the North things are almost as bad as in the South. Why? The Democratic party has sent its appointees all over the North and they are carrying Southern ideas. Negroes are "Jim Crowed" and insulted at Hog Island. Why? Because the South controls it. The "Dixie" Club, composed of young white men appointed by the influence of the Democratic majority, wants to "put the Northern nigger in his place." Philadelphia today is very little different from Charleston, S. C., or New Orleans, La., for the same Democrats who run things in the South, to a large extent, run them in the North. Already we have seen the attempt to drive colored students out of Northern universities by prejudiced Southerners who have charge of educational affairs. The Democrats control the railways and Jim Crowism is more rampant than ever before. What rights Negroes had in interstate travel have nearly all been taken away from them under control of the railways by Democratic officials.

The Negro certainly has no reason to desire the continuance of Democratic rule, especially since it is not necessary for the successful prosecution of the war. Under the Democrats race prejudice has increased a hundred per cent. Negroes have been insulted in the uniform of their country, and lynching has not abated.

It is true that we have been given 1000 officers and an assistant to the Secretary of War; but we should have had 3000 officers. Colonel Young should have been brigadier general upon active duty in France. Negro nurses should have had proper recognition and been upon the field of service over there, and Negro physicians and dentists should have been serving in their professional capacity, in regiments where they are so much needed. Negroes should have proportionate representation on draft boards, and more adequate representation in the Labor Department. Such recognition would have made the Negro more efficient.

In the various councils of war work the Negro has hardly no representation. We know this is wrong.

Now that peace seems near, it will be most fortunate for the Negro and the country if we should have a Republican Congress. For the great work of reconstruction is to be done. In this reconstruction the Democrats will stand for repressing the Negro, limiting his progress and keeping him in his place," according to Southern notions, while he will have a better chance under the Republicans.

But even if the Democrats had been fair to the Negroes, the inexperience of such men as Mr. Kitchin, of North Carolina and others less competent than he on important Congressional committees would demand a change so that the best brain and the most unselfish loyalty and the most experienced statesmanship may have the great task of reconstruction which shall be ours after Germany is whipped.

We do not make it a habit to advocate political parties in the Christian Recorder, and had not the President made the personal appeal to us we might not have spoken at this time. Now we urge the Negro vote to make itself felt in every state in the North voting for a Republican Congress. A half million men from Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Ala-

bama and other Southern states which practically disfranchise our people are now qualified to vote in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Let us help to make sure that after the war is won no attempt will be made to repeal the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The only way to be sure of this is to elect a Republican Congress. To help do this at this particular time is our bounden duty.

Remember the best way to make the world safe for democracy is not this year is to make the country "safe" for the Democrats for the next four years, if not for the next forty years. And no greater calamity could happen to the Negro. So let it not be.

SUFFRAGE CAMOUFLAGED.

The article appearing in the St. Louis Times under the date of Feb. 23, by Geo. R. Lockwood, an attorney, is a very amusing fulmination on Negro suffrage. Lockwood is very much concerned about the effect the ratification of the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution, conferring suffrage upon women, will have upon the South, and proposes to circularize the nation, warning against this "impending peril."

"Suffrage for white women is alright, but for Colored women this will never do," he says "Colored women are so much smarter than Colored men, that once they get the ballot, they will use it." Hurrah for the women! He pays the Colored women a compliment. They will use it just as white women use it, uninfluenced by the kind of so-called advisors as Lockwood. When reason fails the next resort of a small mind is pretext, and to use a newer expression, camouflage.

The Negro is used to this kind of argument, so is the country, and we are on to the curves of Mr. Lockwood. Why not come out in the open against suffrage as proposed for the women—why hide behind the Colored women, as an excuse? Why is Lockwood so concerned about the voters in the South, anyway? He will learn, if he does not already know, that "the mills of the gods grind slowly but they grind exceedingly fine." And he and his kind will find that Justice may be cheated but never defeated; that the Colored race will come into its own as a voter in this country, both men and women.

Whoever would oppose is doomed. Democracy, true Democracy is lifting its head above the miasma of prejudice and hate and Liberty, Justice and Equality are on their way to the mightiest triumph the world has ever seen.

The Colored race welcomes the test the amendment will make upon their capacity for governmental participation. Knowing as they do that all men, all races, have fitted themselves for self government. Denying a man participation in the government he fights to uphold, whose flag he carries upon its battlefield, whose institution he exposes his life to defend, may find justification with Lockwood, but not with those who believe in RIGHT. The Colored women are doing their full share, giving their sons freely into their country's cause—answering every call of their government, as true women have done throughout the history of the world, and black women, white women, all women will break down the barriers of opposition which have too long stood against them and will erect upon the cross of service the Wreath of Love.

MACON GA. TELEGRAPH
MAY 11, 1918

THE ALABAMA RESOLUTIONS.

THE close call which the South had in the recent suffrage vote in the Senate, being saved from humiliation by the vote of five Republicans—Senators Lodge and Weeks of Massachusetts, Senator Knox of Pennsylvania, Senator McLean of Connecticut and Dillingham of Vermont—gives an emphasis to the Alabama resolutions.

A great mass meeting of Alabama voters assembled in Montgomery on April 4, 1918, to set forth the creed of the Democrats of the State. The resolutions comport with the vote of those in the Senate who stood for the old doctrine of State autonomy and State self-government. The mass meeting restated the creed of the party. In the platform promulgated are these clauses:

"From the defeat and the destruction of the Federalist party in 1801 by the Democrats led by Jefferson to the declaration of faith on which Woodrow Wilson became President of the United States the Democratic party has denounced Federal aggression of local power. It has asserted in every platform in its history of more than one hundred years that the one fundamental and unchanging maxim of American freedom is that the States must not be subordinated in their internal governance to Federal authority.

The War and the States.

"The Supreme Court of the United States declared for all time in the Slaughterhouse case that the Civil War amendments did not impair the sovereignty of the States and that the court proposed to hold with a steady and an even hand the balance between State and Federal power."

The Fundamental Principle.

"The Democratic party has survived for more than a century under that single principle, and stands today the most ancient, steadfast and noblest political organization for high purposes on the face of the earth. It is the one party in the history of the world which has survived by its adherence to an ideal as against a succession of parties sustained by interests working under cover for Federal aggression."

"To that party we renew our allegiance and to its elder statesmen, canonized by succeeding generations for conspicuous service in establishing popular governments on the earth, our proud acknowledgments."

The mass meeting denounced the Susan B. Anthony amendment as a companion piece with the fifteenth amendment. That amendment it said is "the single German blot upon the Constitution of the United States. Out of it has sprung the menace to Southern civilization. The proposed amendment stands today alone among the written Constitutions of the great nations of the earth as the only other threatened instance of Federal interference with local and domestic affairs."

Then the resolutions add: "We warn our people that this Federal suffrage means universal suffrage, or the reduction of representation; that the close of this war will release a rapacity for control of the vast Federal organism, to which the gluttony after the Civil War, was but a faint forecast, and the black ballot, male and female, in the border States and controlling the electoral college, will be the prize for Republican and Western contention in Congress."

The mass meeting expressed its loyalty in all measures pertaining to war, but did not regard Federal suffrage in any sense a war measure. The mass meeting held to the view recently expressed by its great Senator, Oscar Underwood, when he said: "Our own government possesses today the checks and balances in the Constitution that protect us from the despotism of the autocrat and the ruthless spirit of the mob, provided Congress will uphold and maintain the powers created by the people and enshrined in the Constitution of our country; but when Congress is

prepared to abandon constitutional limits, surrender a government of law and establish a government of men, then there is danger ahead for the people."

Alluding to the proposed Federal amendment on suffrage to rob the States of the right of control of the elective franchise, Senator Underwood said: "It is the intention of the proponents of the pending suffrage amendment to revoke the sovereign powers reserved to the people to manage their own local affairs and give to the Federal government the rights heretofore exercised by the States, and rightly so."

The Alabama mass meeting did not regard the upholding of the principle of State self-government as at all threatening the integrity of the nation's policy as to war. Suffrage they declared was a State matter, a domestic affair. It is confusing domestic matters with foreign and war duties to class suffrage as a war measure. The war does not demand subversion of States.

The surrender of the right to control our own local affairs and transfer to the Federal government the regulation of the franchise in each State will be the greatest domestic calamity that can befall the peoples who dwell in the negro belt.

Contending for perpetuation of the right of a State to regulate and control its franchise as has been the rule for over an hundred years, does not involve "disloyalty" to the Administration. For illustration, who is more loyal to the war and all it means than Senator Tillman, yet his adherence to State self-government does not in any way interfere with his national and war obligations. It is unfair to make such a distinction. The effort to do so recalls some unpleasant history as follows:

When Thad Stevens was "boss" of Congress and became dictator, in his speech advocating negro suffrage, male and female, he said: "I favor negro suffrage because the blacks have as good a right to vote and choose rulers and make laws as rebel whites. Under my bill the 'loyal' blacks and the 'loyal' whites can act in a body and the two united would form a majority and control politics and affairs in each Southern State. My bill would assure the ascendancy through these means of the Republican party in all the Southern States. The South will be ours. We must divide the South into loyalists and disloyalists without regard to color, so that we will not be annoyed by these Southern people seeking office and influence in the government. We will get rid of them for good."

Strange to say, old Thad Stevens based his calculations on the non-slaveholding population joining in with the negroes. How ignorant of the situation in the South he was!

The "Birth of a Nation" has been before Macon audiences. When Stevens became master of the Congress and the nation he made his mulatto woman, whom years before he had detached from her husband, the "First Lady of the Land." His home on Capitol Hill became the Mecca—the White House!—to which all the politicians, the statesmen and Jacobins repaired. And as no one had the ear of Stevens as did his paramour, whom he called his "romance," Lydia Smith, all callers had to court her influence. Even Charles Sumner of Pennsylvania, had to do obeisance to Lydia. Lydia wanted woman's suffrage, but Stevens had, against his will, to strike that. But she got old Thad to insert the clauses for "the forty acres and the mule" and for "miscegenation." Stevens lost these, and on his dying bed, the ruling passion strong in death, exclaimed: "With five more votes I would have had my Reconstruction measures to my notion." Then—died—and went where the Kaiser ought to be.

When Reconstruction was in full force they divided us into "loyalists" and "disloyalists." All negroes and seceders were the "loyalists," all white men of honor were the "disloyalists." So don't start that cry again, "loyalists" and "disloyalists." Over 90 per cent of our people are loyal for all war measures, but also loyal to State self-government.

THE CANDIDATE AND THE PLATFORM

The New York daily papers agree that last week's Republican State Convention was controlled and its platform written by Governor Whitman and his friends. The "Times," in referring to it on last Saturday, says: *Amsterdam News* 7-24-78

"The adoption of the platform without any minority report offered or a cross word being uttered on the floor of the convention is a clean-cut victory for the Governor."

We must, therefore, give thanks and congratulations to the Governor for a most excellent platform and for a declaration in favor of the doctrine of human rights that is of a surpassing degree of excellency. We did not suppose that any expression of a party platform could possibly give us such a fresh influx of hope and encouragement as the paragraph urging a square deal for Coloured citizens has done. It rings as clear as a bell and adds another fine achievement to the many for which Governor Whitman is richly entitled to the support of the Coloured voters of this State. Here it is. Every man and woman of our Race should read it:

"There are no classes in the United States, and those who attempt to create classes and urge them to be antagonistic to each other are not believers in a republic. Such teachers do not wish to lift all men up; they are bent on pulling some men down. We reassert our belief in the equality of all men and women before the law, and in equality of opportunity."

This is not only the Republican creed, but it is the Whitman creed. It always has been, and he has never missed an opportunity to make his creed square with his deeds. When he was District Attorney he appointed a Coloured Assistant District Attorney. As Governor, he named a Coloured man as a high official in the Department of Foods and Markets. He authorized the recruiting of the famous Fifteenth Infantry, in face of the fact that the Adjutant General under his Democratic predecessor had secured state-ments from the Governors of at least ten States to the effect that Coloured soldiers were failures in their States and that all Coloured military units had been disbanded by them. In this connection, it must not be forgotten that even the Eighth Illinois was not organized as a regiment at first, but as a battalion, in which formation it existed for ten or twelve years before it was made a regiment. Moreover, the Eighth was organized over thirty years ago, when there were Coloured National Guard Regiments in almost every Southern State, and when there was no opposition to them. The Fifteenth was organized as a regiment, not a battalion, and at a time when North and South had adopted the policy of extrusion of all Coloured National Guard units. We recommend this to you for comparison and meditation.

He had the courage to select two Coloured men to be members of the powerful War Exemption Boards in the districts in New York City where Coloured registrants were numerous, and by so doing, prevented the possibility of any discrimination on account of color in sending men to the army.

But why multiply instances? We know our friends, we know Governor Whitman is one of the best of them, and we should not fail him.

DIXIELAND AND STATE RIGHTS

VOICE OF THE NEWS
REPUBLICAN, 1918

THE readiness of legislatures of the southern states to ratify the dry amendment to the federal constitution may encourage the advocates of a national woman suffrage amendment to believe it will also receive the support of the south. The general principle involved is the same in both cases. The amendments are an assertion of national power and a denial of the right of states exclusively to legislate on these subjects.

Both amendments are in conflict with the doctrine of state rights to which the south is supposed still to adhere, but which is evidently no longer maintained with the vigor of a former time. Mississippi quickly ratified the national dry amendment without debate. Mississippi and several other states of the south are already dry, and they evidently believe it will be good if the whole nation is dry.

The Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser, commenting on the action of the Mississippi legislature, says that the doctrine of state rights has been "betrayed in the house of its fathers," and observes that it will be a hollow and ineffectual cry when Mississippi opposes federal suffrage and the destruction of restrictive state suffrage laws. The Advertiser contends that it will be inconsistent for Mississippi, after having ratified the national dry amendment, to stand against federal suffrage measures.

It requires the affirmative vote of the legislatures of three-fourths of the states to adopt an amendment to the federal constitution. Mississippi and Kentucky have ratified the dry amendment.

Advocates of the suffrage amendment have most to fear from the states of the south, especially since New York has broken the opposition of the east. The proposed enfranchisement of negro women is objectionable to the south, largely perhaps because of a fear that it would open the way to interference by the national government with state restrictions and that further measures might be adopted reducing the voting power of the south in the electoral college.

If the doctrine of state rights is cast aside, as the Montgomery Advertiser says has been done by Mississippi in the ratification of the national dry amendment, there will be no logical basic principle to bring forward in opposition to the national woman suffrage amendment and other federal regulations of the suffrage.

Some Further Observations on the Woman's Movement—Political Sharp Practice in New York State and at Washington—Disenfranchisement of Majorities—Supremacy of Women Voters

N Y C TIMES
SEPTEMBER 15, 1918
By W. W. GREGG.

IN an article recently published in THE TIMES entitled "The Third Sex," an attempt was made to discuss certain features of the so-called woman's movement with special reference to the individual woman's share in maintaining the race, in transmitting to the next generation her part of the racial life-surge. The underlying idea presented was that mature persons, who for whatever reasons either live outside of normal marriage relations or else, if in such relations, are not the parents of at least the minimum number of two or three children necessary merely to maintain the race, may fairly be considered as sub-normal, as a kind of third or neuter sex and as in many respects comparable to that class of imperfect and sterile females in the insect world known as workers and easily distinguished in the hive or nest from the males and the queens or true females.

Starting with this definition it was sought to show, first, that the more numerous female portion of this human third sex constitutes a more or less definite class in modern society with its own class interests as distinct not only from those of the men, but also from those of other women; and, second, that this female portion of the third sex, in spite of its many conspicuous examples of ability and worth, nevertheless, particularly on account of its rapidly increasing numbers, constitutes a serious social problem of the present day. Any discussion of this third-sex problem naturally involves other questions—economic, political, social, biological—about which opinions widely differ. It was accordingly to be expected that sharp criticism would be directed toward some of the ultimate conclusions reached, but there seems to have been no dissent from the primary proposition laid down, that there is a very considerable, although minority, class as described under the term mentioned, and that the class interests of the women of this third sex are not identical either with men's interests or with those of other and normal women.

One complaint both of friendly and unfriendly critics seems to be based

upon a failure to understand the definition given of the third sex. One critic after detailing numerous examples of worthy unmarried individuals of both sexes asks whether they should be "blamed." Another critic, although extremely sympathetic with the ideas advanced, is also influenced by this same implication of blame assumed to exist in the term, and so dissents "from the classification of any large number of unmarried women workers as members of the third sex," upon the ground that "the majority of single women are strongly opposed to the very conditions that have kept them single." This writer would thus exclude from the third sex the many single women who nevertheless are "consistent and able defenders of marriage and motherhood."

It is of course regrettable that the term in question, being by definition based upon a certain condition or status, necessarily includes both those who are and those who are not considered as personally blameworthy for such condition. Obviously the article did not attempt to make the term one of universal blame or reproach, for it especially recognized the fact that some women of necessity do not marry; and, further, that on account of war conditions many more will be forced to remain single in the future. Obviously a man or woman may, or may not, marry and have children, for any one of a number of reasons, some of which may be most laudable and others most reprehensible. To say then that a person is a member of the third sex is no more descriptive of the individual's moral worth than to say that, for instance, he or she is an invalid. The condition of invalidism in any particular instance may be the result of either blameworthy or laudable acts by the individual, but whether blameworthy or laudable, although of course in somewhat different degrees, the condition of invalidism presents certain problems. And so with the status of normal parenthood, which automatically determines, in accordance with the definition given, whether one takes the ballot she will more surely vote in the interests of the home than another critic insists that the term third sex is really of German origin, implying "merely a neurotic, restless woman, a sex-egotist." A most casual reading of the previous article will show that this was not the sense in which

the term was there defined and used. Surely until a term has acquired a much wider vogue than has this one it is permissible to define it otherwise than by a made-in-Germany definition. If the definition of a term be merely arbitrary and based upon no valid reasons, the term will soon be forgotten, but whether arbitrary or not, when it is used with reference to a particular discussion the usage should correspond to the definition there laid down. Evidently this definition might have been framed to exclude from the third sex all who were not voluntarily members of it, but such a definition would ignore the fact that no matter how much a woman might resent being a member of the third sex and wish for a home and family, if these were long denied her she would in the end in the great majority of cases come to feel that her interests were really with the class in which fate had placed her rather than with the class in which she would have preferred to be. Consequently practical considerations of supporting measures favoring the third sex would probably in time outweigh any support she might instinctively give to measures favoring the class which she had missed. For this reason it would seem undesirable to limit the definition originally given by making an exception in favor of those who of necessity or, if voluntarily, then even for the highest motives, find themselves included within the status described.

QUESTIONNAIRE METHODS.

One of the most important secondary problems connected with any discussion of the third sex is that of equal pay for women. This idea is usually phrased "equal pay for equal work," a less accurate expression but evidently one better suited for popular consumption, as it implies a measure of justice and fairness which the American public instinctively champions without much bothering about such futile things as economic laws and political principles. Little that is new can be said upon this much-debated subject. A very interesting fact, however, is that a correspondent who well describes the essential injustice and unfairness of this third sex "slogan," as he calls it, nevertheless expects that votes for women will overthrow this fallacy. He says: "It is poor policy for legislators and administrative officials to overestimate the demands of a minority among women voters. When the woman at the ballot in the hands of the mother will be cast for those who recognize the woman, a sex-egotist." A most casual reading of the previous article will show that this was not the sense in which

the term was there defined and used. Surely until a term has acquired a much wider vogue than has this one it is permissible to define it otherwise than by a made-in-Germany definition. If the definition of a term be merely arbitrary and based upon no valid reasons, the term will soon be forgotten, but whether arbitrary or not, when it is used with reference to a particular discussion the usage should correspond to the definition there laid down. Evidently this definition might have been framed to exclude from the third sex all who were not voluntarily members of it, but such a definition would ignore the fact that no matter how much a woman might resent being a member of the third sex and wish for a home and family, if these were long denied her she would in the end in the great majority of cases come to feel that her interests were really with the class in which fate had placed her rather than with the class in which she would have preferred to be. Consequently practical considerations of supporting measures favoring the third sex would probably in time outweigh any support she might instinctively give to measures favoring the class which she had missed. For this reason it would seem undesirable to limit the definition originally given by making an exception in favor of those who of necessity or, if voluntarily, then even for the highest motives, find themselves included within the status described.

To take a recent example: The daily press of July 31, 1918, reported that the Woman Suffrage Party of New York State intended to take an active part in the Fall campaign and that at a meeting of its State Board it was decided to send out questions to Assembly districts leaders throughout the State to be put to candidates. Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw was quoted as saying: "Delegations of prominent women are carrying this questionnaire to each candidate. They are being presented at public meetings at which prospective candidates are seeking opportunities to speak throughout the State." This questionnaire in full reads as follows:

Will you support the Government to the utmost in its prosecution of the war?
Are you in favor of woman suffrage?
Will you support the Federal suffrage amendment in its passage through Congress and its ratification by the New York State Legislature?
Do you favor the improvement of the rural school system of the State along lines which have proved most successful in other States and which have the approval of the State Department of Education?
Do you favor equal pay for men and women?
Do you favor legislation against all profiteering?
Do you favor the creation by law of a wage commission which would fix in different industries and localities the least upon which girls and women can live in decency and health?
Do you stand for the maintenance of our present labor laws?
Do you approve their extension to new occupations into which women go?
Will you support further progressive legislation in interest of labor—both men and women?

Now, what is the true significance of this novel and clever questionnaire method of approaching candidates? Although most of the questions presented

are not covered by any party platform except the Socialist, and although almost all candidates profess allegiance to one party or another, we have here a definite threat of organized opposition to any candidate who does not subscribe to the affirmative of these questions. And even conceding that the Woman Suffrage Party of New York can control relatively only a few votes, these votes, if used as a block either for or against a candidate, might easily decide a primary or an election. No candidate is ignorant of this fact, with the result that great pressure is exerted upon him to answer the questionnaire satisfactorily to the very shrewd leaders of the Suffrage Party.

Consequently this organization, although not a "party" at all, as it puts up no candidates of its own, nevertheless will exercise a greater control upon legislation than it ever could by direct action. If it put up its own candidates on its own platform they could be opposed by either the regular parties or by independent candidates, but by persuading or coercing all candidates to subscribe in advance to its own platform, this platform never becomes an issue for the voters, whether men or women, because they never have a chance to vote against it, but must perforce vote for it if they vote for any candidate whatever.

MINORITY RULE.

Thus, to take for example this same "equal-pay-for-women slogan" so much disapproved by the correspondent quoted: After the candidates for election this Fall in New York State have been "seen" by the representatives of the Woman Suffrage Party armed with this questionnaire it is likely that in many districts no candidate will be found who will have the political courage to refuse to subscribe to question number five. Consequently both this correspondent himself and the average woman voter whom he trusts and every other voter in that same election district may go to the polls in November and there have no alternative whatever but to vote for a candidate who subscribes to an economic and social novelty that is really being promoted almost exclusively by the third sex. Such a result, by which only candidates "hand-picked" by the suffrage leaders may seek office, seems most unfortunate, as it really operates by sharp political practice to disenfranchise a majority both of men and women; for if only legislators can be voted for who stand upon a questionnaire platform not approved by a majority of the voters, what is this but an essential disenfranchisement regarding all subjects covered by the questionnaire? As was said in the former article: "If

a movement is based upon majorities legally expressed it must, whether for good or ill, win in a democracy, but if it succeeds largely by an adroit playing upon the hopes and fears of legislators every principle of democratic government is violated." And the same principle applies wherever threats and coercion cannot be thwarted by the secret ballot, whether they be employed against candidates for office or in party conventions, State Legislatures, or Congress itself.

The same considerations as to the disenfranchisement of the majority of course apply to the rest of this questionnaire. With the exception of questions one and six, evidently intended to give a patriotic flavor to the dose the candidate is asked to swallow, it would probably be difficult to find a committee of experts even of the same political faith who would substantially agree upon affirmative answers to all these questions. For instance, the fourth question states that the school legislation approved by the State Department of Education has proved most successful elsewhere. How many candidates are competent to pass upon this complex question? The matter of a wage commission for women workers implies minimum wage legislation to follow, about which, as well as about some of "our present labor laws" (the full crew law, for example,) there is much honest difference of opinion. The last two questions on the list require further explanation for intelligent answers. What labor laws are referred to? What is "progressive" legislation and what is the test of progressiveness? Evidently the Socialists and the Bolsheviks consider any other program than their own not "progressive." The last question on the list, however, is a veritable god-send to the perplexed candidate by reason of its comfortable vagueness. What candidate of any party would hesitate to admit that he is for "progressive legislation," if embarrassing details are not mentioned?

This practical disenfranchisement of the majority is also seen in the suffrage planks of the questionnaire, questions two and three, for upon this point we have the election figures of last Fall when the up-State voters in New York gave a majority against suffrage for women, although the measure was carried in New York City. As the men of this population of over five millions repudiated woman suffrage it is a fair inference that the women of the same community possessed similar views on the subject, in spite of the claims made by the suffrage leaders. It will be noted, however, that this questionnaire is not to be confined to New York City candidates where presumably majorities of both men and women voters, in spite of recent defections from the Socialist Party on account of its notorious lack of patriotism, still favor woman suffrage in general, although not necessarily the Federal suffrage amendment. The questionnaire is also to be sent to the other half of the State where the voters do not wish woman suffrage in general and, *a posteriori*, certainly not Federal amendment, and this up-State half, it may be remembered, contains a population exceeding the combined populations of seven or eight of the present suffrage States. This whole

sale disenfranchisement of majorities under the guise of a harmless questionnaire shows that the third sex women politicians have little of practical politics to learn from the men, however much they may have failed to learn statesmanship.

An interesting commentary upon the patriotic first question of this questionnaire is found in the plan of this same Woman Suffrage Party of New York, as a part of its educational campaign for the benefit of women voters, to extend the opportunity of its platform to Mr. Hillquit as representing the Socialist Party. To invite under the thin plea of nonpartisanship the foremost representative of the notoriously un-American faction of the Socialist Party—the party which resolved that our declaration of war against Germany was "a crime against the people of the United States and against the nations of the world"—to address the new women voters upon the duties of American citizenship serves to show how little value the suffrage leaders themselves place upon the opening sentence of their own questionnaire. Evidently, however, by thus paying their political debts they at least cannot be accused of ingratitude for the help received in the last election from Mr. Hillquit and his party.

RADICAL LEGISLATION.

It is, accordingly, not easy to agree with those who assume that the entry of women into politics does not portend a very considerable amount of radical methods and radical legislation, especially so long as the suffrage organizations are not disbanded and the votes of even a few women are controlled by the suffrage leaders. In this connection it must be remembered that the experience of the older suffrage States can afford but little light on the present situation, as it is only very recently that the suffragists have had any success whatever in the East and in all the Western States male voters have always possessed large majorities.

In the Eastern suffrage States the women voters are already almost if not equal or more than equal in numbers to the men, especially now that so many men are under arms in camps and abroad, and in the near future there is every prospect of women voters having, for at least a generation, large permanent majorities on account of the casualties to men in the great war. As this situation becomes more evident it will be borne in upon even the easy-going male voter, who assumes that women will surely vote "in the interests of the home," that the third sex politicians know their power and are determined to use it, and by no means always in the interests of the home. If a man is a natural radical or finds himself in sympathy with the aims and methods of the third sex women leaders of suffrage and feminism, and especially with the pacifist and Socialist records of so many of them, he of course logically favors movements led and controlled by such women, but why otherwise should he give them his support?

It is a striking commentary upon either the political blindness or optimism or chivalry of the American male that so many men who are by nature and instinct conservative have yet been willing to hand over the reins of gov-

ernment to majorities of new and untried voters largely led by women leaders of whom these men strongly disapprove. It is doubtful whether history records any instance of such political generosity, for it is obviously one thing to bestow the franchise upon new voters who as a class will always constitute a minority, as in the enfranchisement of the negro and the recent extension of the franchise to women in England, and quite another thing to extend the franchise to a class which either now constitutes or very soon will constitute an actual majority of all the voters.

In brief, the history of the suffrage movement in the past few years exemplifies at every turn the power of a skillfully used minority to enforce its will against an unorganized majority. With only one victory at the polls in the last four years, as opposed to nine defeats in the same time, with a total record at the polls in this country to date, covering thirty campaigns, of favoring majorities totaling less than 200,000 votes, and of adverse majorities totaling more than 1,300,000 votes—we yet see the Federal suffrage amendment passed by the House of Representatives and almost passed by the Senate. We see the Congressmen from a State that gave a majority against suffrage of almost two to one nevertheless only three months later all voting for a measure designed to force suffrage upon their State at the behest of other States—a flagrant violation of that principle of home rule upon which a democracy is supposed to rest. We see the President reversing his own previously expressed opinions and exerting his personal influence to the utmost in endeavoring by public letters to induce Senators to vote for this same amendment against their convictions.

Surely the adoption of all such means is enough to cast suspicion upon the merits of any cause. The leaders of a movement who, at a time when the nation is straining every nerve to meet the tremendous war burdens imposed upon it, resort to the practice of trying to force a constitutional amendment through Congress by wire-pulling and threats rather than attempt a straightforward appeal to the voters of the different States, thereby create a presumption that they do not want the voters to pass upon their cause, that they are afraid of a verdict at the polls, that they do not believe in majority rule unless the majority be in their favor.

Moreover it is evident that the women leaders are cleverly seeking to take advantage of abnormal war conditions by the specious argument that women are entitled to the franchise as a reward for war work. None will deny that the women of this country, as distinguished from many of the third sex leaders, have done loyal work in aid of the war, but what of the men? Have they, too, done nothing deserving of a reward? If casualty lists are any evidence on this point they certainly show that in any war where a country is not invaded by far the greater portion of the physical suffering at least and of the fatalities falls to the lot of the men. None can object to rewarding both men and women war workers, but it seems not altogether savoring of justice to reward

the women at the expense of the men, and yet this is exactly what is sought when the franchise is claimed by women as a reward for war work. If the franchise possessed by a man has any value, when the electorate is doubled, or more than doubled, the value of his vote is necessarily decreased by half, or more than half. Thereby the vote which he was formerly supposed to possess largely on account of the nation's right to require his life in its defense, which obligation is not and never has been shared by women, is cheapened under the plea of rewarding another. If this reward to women did not have to be in effect paid by the men, who certainly do not deserve less of their country when shedding their blood for it than in peace times, this argument of votes for women as a reward for war services would be more plausible. But under actual conditions women cannot be rewarded in this fashion without thereby depreciating the vote of every home-coming soldier, to say nothing of all the male war-workers who do the same noncombatant work that seems to some so meritorious when done by women. And yet male war workers are supposed to be sufficiently rewarded by their wages.

The suspicion will not down that the third sex leaders are trying in every way to speed women's equality, or rather supremacy, at the polls, for the reason that they think they stand a better show of success now with millions of men voters abroad and in training camps than later with many of the same men at home to be persuaded under more nearly normal conditions. The public has frowned upon all attempts both of labor and of capital to improve their relative positions during the war, with the result that a practical truce has been effected for the duration of the war as to all aggressive measures on the part of either. But the third sex leaders are undisturbed by any such considerations. They have declared no truce during the period of the war, but are spending money, time, and energy without stint in an endeavor to secure every advantage possible while the country at large is too busily engaged in the serious business of winning the war to give the suffrage question the full attention it deserves and would receive in times of peace.

EARLY WOMEN REFORMERS.

One vigorous critic of the former article refers at length to the early history of the woman's movement in this country and instances two out of the three women prominent therein from 1850 to 1860 as being the mothers of large families. Probably this early record of child-bearing has not since been equaled, for no reference is made to any later leaders in the movement as being so blessed with children. The statement has been elsewhere publicly made, by the way, that all of the eight foremost national leaders of woman suffrage of the present day are childless.

It will be recalled that the article criticised expressly referred to the desirability of even the normal married woman entering or re-entering the wage-earning class, so there can be no criticism per se of a married woman's engaging in reform work. Moreover, by the very definition there laid down,

neither Elizabeth Cady Stanton nor Lucretia Mott could be classed as belonging to the third sex at all. The present writer would be the last one to deny the very valuable work performed by these early women pioneers in obtaining more just legislation for women. No one today would wish to place woman again under the legal disabilities which then handicapped her. A significant point of this early history of the woman movement is that these women pioneers, who never represented more than a very small minority either of men or women, who never threatened a candidate with a questionnaire backed by a claimed solid woman's vote, were yet able to succeed in vitally changing woman's status before the law. Evidently they emphasized justice for women rather than votes for women. Evidently, too, the men legislators were impressed by their appeals for justice, for in those days petitioning women did petition and did not threaten legislators. It accordingly seems a far cry from Miss Anthony, with her 6,000 petition signatures, to the militant tactics of those claiming to represent the woman's movement of the present day.

Of course the assumption of this critic, who seems to favor the Socialist Party, is that the present leaders of the movement will be equally appreciated in the future. The verdict of oncoming generations is difficult to predict, but to the average man it seems hard to compare the prosperous leaders of an almost fashionable cause, having State budgets running into the hundreds of thousands and an aggressive organization extending throughout the country, with those early pioneers referred to. And judged by the changes effected it may well be doubted whether those pioneers did not actually accomplish, and certainly at infinitely less expense, much more than any group of women have since accomplished. Probably the status of woman in New York State since obtaining the suffrage is really less changed relatively from her former status, looked at from every viewpoint, than was the change in her status brought about by the legislation of two generations ago. Possibly the "martyrs" of the riots before the White House will be canonized later. Possibly history, so far as it remembers them at all, will apply to them merely the German definition of the third sex mentioned by this same critic.

In jumping from what may be called the ancient history of the woman's movement in this country to more recent times, this same critic refers to "the women votes that the late Mr. Mitchel and Mr. Hyland received," and says that "Mr. Hillquit received also his quota," evidently laboring under the impression that women's votes were cast in New York City last November for the gentlemen named. This is hardly the general view.

PARENTHOOD BY THE FITTEST.

Apart from but underlying all problems of government and economics is the more basic one of life itself, of the human raw material which must exist before there can be any human problems at all. As this basic problem involves the quality as well as the amount of this human material, any

(See next Card)

Political - 1918

Suffrage
From foregoing card.
Some Further Observation"
N.Y. Times 9/15/18

movement must be judged in part at losses thus suffered, it would seem that least by its attitude toward this question every possible endeavor should now be made of quality and quantity reproduction made to lessen this evil by emphasizing as applied to the race itself, and especially as applied to our particular fittest and by opposing all movements, part of the race. Viewing the various women's movements in this light, can we say that their influence has been or is being exerted altogether in accord with the best principles of eugenics? Conceding, of course, that woman is no longer to be treated as either a beast of burden or a plaything or a mere machine for reproducing the species, have not the present third sex leaders of feminism and suffrage gone much too far to the other extreme by slighting woman's reproductive function, in stressing careers for women and their economic independence, and by endeavoring to make identical the activities of women in the world at large as compared with those of men?

In the former article reference was made to the disinclination of many of the most promising young women to marry and have families. This same situation has been referred to by Roger W. Babson, the eminent statistician and writer on social topics, who, after referring to the American woman and her "one child," concludes:

"Unless there is some change, the self-respecting, honest young man who wishes to have a family can do only one thing—namely, to forget the American woman entirely and marry a frank, healthy specimen of some other nation."

Probably from the eugenic viewpoint this is the best solution of the problem if American women are to follow blindly the advice of some of the third sex women leaders of the present day, for it seems safe to assume that the average man who marries will not cheerfully accept even a wife's career or her economic independence as a substitute for a family. And his views in this respect are supported by nature's highest sanction, that of race preservation. Some women, of course, have achieved in all these lines of endeavor, but for the great majority of women insistence upon the first two lines mentioned implies failure with respect to the third.

In the former discussion of the third sex it was stated that our population seems to be "kept up to its present numbers only by the fecundity of its least promising portions," and that in any event society "will still be the loser in the long run unless the most advanced or educated or worthy portion of society at least reproduces itself." If this conclusion be sound, does it not imply that every woman representative of such portion of society who willfully disregards or violates this principle thereby tends to weaken society at large? The present world war, whatever may be its assets in spiritual values and political ideals, has proved a terrible racial catastrophe by destroying so much of the best stock of the white race. In view of the stupendous racial

but would not permit anybody to make copies of it.

Arnold announced that the names of all negroes the police reported as having moved or in the army or dead, or as having never lived where they registered from, would be given to Democratic challengers and judges and to the police.

Voters to Be Protected.

Henry Kortjohn, chairman of a legal advisory committee, created to protect voters against police intimidation at the polls, announced the names of the committee last night. He said all legal voters, regardless of party, will be protected in their right to the ballot and, if arrested, will be given free legal service and speedy bail. The committee will vigorously oppose any attempt at fraudulent voting.

If a voter is interfered with he may call upon any of the following lawyers on the committee to get advice what to do, and such service will be free:

Henry Kortjohn, Jr., Merchants-Laclede Building.

Clifford B. Allen, Wainwright Building.

Edward W. Foristel, Title Guaranty Building.

Edgar R. Rombauer, Boatmen's Bank Building.

S. T. G. Smith, Federal Reserve Bank Building.

William S. Wittler, Times Building.

Anthony F. Ittner, Boatmen's Bank Building.

Frank H. Hiemenz, Title Guaranty Trust Building.

Paul V. Janis, Merchants-Laclede Building.

J. Clarence Taussig, Boatmen's Bank Building.

This committee will remain in office all day Tuesday and will be ready on a minute's notice to aid any voter. Evidence gathered by these lawyers of any attempted police intimidation or unfounded challenging or other election crookedness will be laid before the grand jury.

FIVE REPUBLICANS IN GEORGIA HOUSE AT NEXT SESSION

Returns from the election held on November 5 state that five republicans were elected to the Georgia house of representatives, is the announcement made by the secretary of state.

They are as follows:

Fannin County—W. W. Moody, republican, 624 votes; Thomas A. Brown, democrat, 543 votes.

Dawson County—P. T. Duncan, republican, 235 votes; H. C. Moss, democrat, 112 votes.

Gilmer County—Sam Penland, republican, 477 votes; W. E. McHan, democrat, 128 votes.

Pickens County—Will Richards, republican, 549 votes; M. W. Fitts, democrat, 377 votes.

Union County—J. C. Dyer, republican, 361 votes; J. F. Collins, democrat, 315 votes.

These were the counties in which the republican state organization put out candidates for the legislature, and their candidates were elected in all five counties.

In the Forty-first senatorial district the republican candidate, W. K. Reese, received 1,780 votes, and the democratic candidate, Clark Ray, received 896 votes. This district is composed of Pickens, Fannin and Gilmer counties.

OUR PRIMARY AND REGISTRATION

Montgomery Advertiser 8-15-18

We have seen that thousands of men hesitate or refuse to vote a second choice, whereas in a run-off primary they would go to the polls in sufficient numbers to insure an expression of popular will. No estimate of the total second choice vote in the Governor's race can be made at this stage, but we doubt whether more than half the voters cast a ballot for a second choice. If that is true, the two-in-one primary system is but a makeshift. The Advertiser hopes the next Legislature, whatever may be its complexion in other respects, will at least unite its factions long enough to restore a less cumbersome and more satisfactory primary law. It seems altogether probable that some such action will be taken, for on every hand we have seen evidences of the high disfavor in which the present method finds itself after its first real test.

It is equally probable that the registration law will also be modified so as to provide a more liberal machinery for enabling voters to protect their franchise privilege. The registration books ought not to be closed several months in advance of a primary or election. As it is many Alabamians otherwise entitled to a vote are disfranchised. They could not participate in Tuesday's primary. This is the more unfortunate because of the absence of thousands of voters who are with the colors.

ALABAMA ON GUARD.
Thad Stevens, Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Fred Douglass, Wendell Phillips, Harriet Beecher Stowe, William Lloyd Garrison, Henry Ward Beecher and Charles Sumner are dead, but their spirit still haunts us and threatens to control the Democratic party of 1918. Today it is probable that the Anthony Suffrage Amendment will be submitted and at the behest of representative Democrats in a combine with Republicans.

Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, Jefferson Davis, William L. Yancey, Alex Stephens, Robert Toombs, L. Q. C. Lamar, Samuel J. Tilden, Grover Cleveland, John T. Morgan, Edmund W. Pettus, John W. Daniels—these are dead, too, and even their spirit seems to have departed for the moment.

Have we forsaken the faith of these men? We cannot speak for other States, but Alabama answers that it has not. It is a source of pride and satisfaction to the Democracy of Alabama that today, regardless of the action of bewildered opportunists from other States, Alabama's unqualified protest will be spoken against the Anthony amendment when John Hollis Bankhead and Oscar W. Underwood answer no.

Defend Civil Rights Law as Fair.

NEWARK N.J. NEWS
NOVEMBER 3, 1918
To the Editor of the NEWS.

Sir—I read in the Newark Ledger an article headed "Colored Voters Denounce Edge," in which the Governor is blamed for the Stevens amendment to the civil rights law, passed at the legislative session of 1917. But what fair-minded people are anxious to know is, What is the objectionable part of the civil rights law, either before or after the amendment?

The law applies equally to Hebrew, Gentile, negro, Indian, Chinese, Malay, or any race or color of inhabitants, so that in the bill there was no unfairness to the colored man. Before amendment it provided that a person aggrieved for being treated unjustly or denied admission to public places could, upon securing a conviction, receive an award of \$500 from the accused. The Stevens amendment, of which I was the introducer, provided that the money go to the overseer of the poor of the locality where the offense was committed, rather than to the informer. I recall several instances throughout the state where suits had been brought and prosecuted in such a way that these actions might have been for the securing of blackmail, and the object of the amendment was to prevent a recurrence of such suits.

Under the amended law, places of amusement and accommodation were clearly defined, so that the colored man, as well as people of other colors, races and religions could have a clear understanding of what were their rights. And, may I ask of these colored men who want to support La Monte and Hennessy, what party other than the Republican has ever done anything for their race? Surely the Democratic party, of whom these men are the candidates, has done nothing to aid the colored man, either in the United States or New Jersey.

LEWIS T. STEVENS.

East Orange.
BRIDGEFIELD REPUBLICAN
NOVEMBER 10, 1918

The notion that the South is peculiarly hostile to woman suffrage or account of the Negro is severely discredited by the result of the referendum in Louisiana where the woman suffrage amendment has been defeated by fewer than 2000 votes. Most significant is the fact that the amendment received a majority in the state outside of the city of New Orleans, for in the rural districts of the South the worst forms of race prejudice are often to be found. Doubtless Louisiana voted on the question without reference to Negro suffrage, the belief being that woman suffrage would enfranchise only white women under the state's election laws. It would be as erroneous to infer that other southern states are as near woman suffrage as Louisiana is as to infer that Vermont is now ready to follow Kansas and Michigan, but at least it is demonstrated that the woman suffrage cause has a future in the South entirely regardless of the Negro problem.

The Suffrage Amendment

THE women of the country are getting an experience in their struggle for the suffrage that is similar to that realized by the workingmen in the struggle for manhood suffrage before the civil war. The action of the Senate on the federal amendment is characteristic of the dodging tactics often assumed by law-making bodies in defeating a worthy measure and yet in such a muddled way as to create doubt as to who is responsible for the failure. However, in this case it is not difficult to trace the main responsibility for defeat—for it was a defeat, even though the measure did not come to a vote—to the Southern senators, openly assisted by a few of the Republican reactionaries. The suffrage supporters had a clear majority in the Senate and if a vote had been taken it would have sent the amendment to the states for ratification. The Southern bourbons were perfectly willing for the matter to come to a vote if the suffragists would consent to the pairing of Senator James with Senators Page and McLean. In other words, they were willing to vote under an arrangement that insured the defeat of the amendment by one vote. Even when asked whether he would consent to a vote on July 1 if action was postponed then, Underwood of Alabama could only make the evasive reply, "I don't know, I am sure."

The Southern bourbons found support in the Northern reactionary Senator Brandegee of Connecticut, who went so far as to accept Southern views against the fifteenth amendment, adopted to guard the civil rights of the Negro. Shifting the attack to another basis, he made the astonishing statement that "the women will quickly forget all about the gentlemen who helped get them the vote and will vote just as they please." In other words, this senator would be willing to grant suffrage to women if they would agree to mortgage their political opinions to the reactionaries he represents. There was the further demagogic maneuver of shifting, or trying to shift, the responsibility for delayed action on a \$20,000,000,000 military bill from the bourbons to the suffragists if the amendment was pressed in the Senate. This was worthy of a gathering of ward heelers at a county election.

The psychology of those who brought the greatest force to bear against having the amendment come to a vote—the Southern group—was displayed by Senator Williams of Mississippi, who moved to amend by inserting the word "white," thus eliminating Negro women at one stroke. He went on to say, according to reports, that "we've got to draw the color line" and that his amendment ought to be accepted by "any man who is white—I don't mean racially white, I mean soulfully white—white clear down to his gizzard." Here the racial hatred based upon an early form of human servitude now extinct for 50 years thrusts itself into the national Legislature to defeat a proposal that is now a fact in many countries. This injection of the racial issue into the debate, however, was evidently

only another maneuver against the main question of suffrage for women in general. It comes from a section of the country which from the period of settlement, 200 years ago, has prided itself on its generally higher regard for its women. The contradiction between theory and practice is glaring, as frequently happens when a ruling group in society boasts of some particular superiority.

The women have faced 40 years of this dodging and indifference to their cause. Both of the capitalist parties have juggled with it when they were forced to face it and ignored it when the agitation declined, but one trench after another is being taken as the women win state after state. However, the political emancipation of women in the South, like the emancipation of the Negro, can only come by a federal amendment, as state action will be resisted to the last by the "chivalrous" rulers of the South. But the end is clear. Not even the bourbon South can long prevent the rise of women to complete equality of rights together with men.

Self-Determination

THE principle of self-determination for subject peoples, races, nationalities and small nations has assumed a status of great importance, owing to the great war. No question will be more difficult of solution than this one, and we are confident that, if the old-school diplomats have a controlling influence in settling it, many of the old sores will remain.

Here in the United States there is need for its application in a number of fields. The "race question" in the South is one. South of the Potomac, and extending west to Texas, is a vast region where a suppressed race has scarcely any civil, political or economic rights. It is not a matter of rights that are imbedded in law codes and then denied for lack of enforcement. They do not even exist in the law codes. On the contrary, the wrongs of which Negroes complain are buttressed in the legal structures of the Southern states.

So far as the franchise is concerned, the 14th amendment gives Congress power to protect the suffrage of the Negroes; but both Republicans and Democrats have joined in ignoring the duty of Congress in this matter. It has the power to reduce the representation in Congress of every state that excludes the Negro from the voting privilege. The Republicans did so for a time after the civil war, and after accomplishing their own purposes they abandoned the Negro to the white aristocracy.

The other questions involved in self-determination are mainly state questions, though they are practically uniform throughout the South. They include the "Jim Crow" car, segregation, lynching, ostracism and exclusion from the better-paid trades. If any of these injustices are not a part of state

legislation, they are, at least, sanctioned by custom and usage, as in the case of lynching. The latter, in fact, is a defiance of laws and courts. The Negroes, in our judgment, have a good case to present to the peace council, and thus can make an excellent test of the "democracy" of that body.

But, while we are considering this question, we may call attention to another one that affects the workers of both colors in this country. There are dynasties of capital in this country that exercise rulership over important regions. The inhabitants have no more control over their lives than the peoples in the border provinces of Russia who are ruled by German bayonets. In upper Michigan, West Virginia and some of the Western states large mining companies exercise a sovereignty that borders on absolutism. Not only the economic life but the political and civil life of these regions, controlled by these dynasties of capital.

What is more, it is an absentee rulership, as in the case of the Germans in Russian provinces. The real rulers reside in New York, Chicago, Boston and other large cities. Their vice governors are the managers and other officials who are appointed by the heads of these dynasties of the East. Whole regions, with their schools, churches, public utilities, mayors, sheriffs, police and civil officials, are dominated by the vice governors of the regal autocracy of the East. Reports are made to the latter from time to time, and orders are sent back to the officials as Berlin sent hers to the officials in the Ukraine and Poland.

Efforts to establish the independence of the inhabitants ruled by these dynasties often have been put down by what the Germans have called "ruthlessness." Unions are forbidden and their members driven out of these sections by force. Political action to gain control of their own lives by the inhabitants have proven abortive, as the officials of these dynasties control the machinery of elections.

We present the case of large sections in upper Michigan, West Virginia, Colorado, Arizona, Idaho, Minnesota and other states for consideration. They are entitled to "self-determination"; they are entitled to control their own welfare against the arbitrary powers that hold them in subjection. Can we get support for these at home while sympathizing with others across the sea?

Southwestern Christian Advocate
As to Suffrage for Negro Women
in The Voice of the People of the Chicago Tribune, July 29 last, a writer who signs herself Kate L. Rankin has the following to say in favor of suffrage for Negro women: "I approve L. C. M's criticism of Senator Williams' amendment excluding Negro women from the benefit of voting under the Susan B. Anthony bill. Negro women should be allowed to vote as well as men of any color."

PLAN URGED TO VOTE NEGROES IN SOUTH

Republicans Threaten Cut in Congress Members.

N.Y. & SUN

Special NUMBER 20, 1918

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19.—The practice long in vogue in the South of parcelling out Congress districts on the basis of population and then permitting only white men to vote is to be attacked by the Republicans the minute they assume control of the next Congress. A measure will be introduced apportioning the number of representatives in each State on the basis of the vote cast and not by population.

That the bill can be put through there is no doubt, but whether it will ever become law depends on the attitude the President takes. The fact that the negroes of the South were called upon without question to do their part in the war in the draft army and otherwise will be pressed by the Republicans as evidence of the feeling that they should receive the rights of citizens if they are to be called upon to perform the duties of citizens.

It is certain that Southern members of Congress will make a bitter fight against the innovation. It would mean that instead of the big delegation now in Congress from the Carolinas, Georgia, Texas, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Virginia and Tennessee there would be probably one-quarter as many.

If the President listens to the pleas of the Southern representatives he will veto the measure when it gets to him. It is doubtful if the House even with its big Republican majority next year could pass the bill over the veto. It is certain that the Senate could not do it.

Suffrage

Is Federal Suffrage an Issue in This Campaign

Editor The Advertiser:

Amendists still deny that suffrage is any part of an issue at this time, although they insist that "its a coming."

Every amendist is not a suffragist, but every suffragist, every feminist and every socialist is an amendist—all lined up behind Kilby and the amendists candidates for the Legislature.

Suffragists and the extremists who are leading the fight for ratification in Alabama, have marched arm in arm since from the day they discovered that our morals and manners were distasteful and that our franchise laws needed overhauling. They have used the same "teachers" and speakers for both, have collected gate receipts for both, have desecrated school houses and churches for both, and the same lobby put both through Congress.

Common sense teaches us that every honest suffragist knows that it is as much impossible for them to hope to win female suffrage in Alabama, just as long as it is left to a popular vote, as it would be to build a railroad to the moon. They also know that just as long as men are elected who oppose their propaganda, just that long they remain hopeless.

Hence they line up to a man for an amendist ticket, from Governor down. The State Democratic Committee strengthened their hope by denying the voters a referendum vote, and with their ticket elected, they naturally expect that the lobby will do the balance.

How can they ignore the wishes of those who have labored long and hard for the companion amendments? Suffragists have more confidence in them.

I enclose a "message" from Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, which I take from The Crisis, November, 1917—(The Crisis is edited by an educated negro, who has derided and denounced State's rights longer but less severely than his white brethren of the amendist press in Alabama. Compare the papers for proof of this).

It is reasonable to suppose that Dr. Shaw's disciples in Alabama cherish some, if not all, of her ideals and long for the same state of human perfection.

She has told us that our marriage ceremony has served its day and should pass; that she regretted the fact that some negro men were opposing woman suffrage, and that in so doing they were hurting their own people. "He then shows that he is not better than the white man and he ought to be better than the white." She also says that anti-suffragists make up the "mother, home and heaven party." Those who are satisfied with the Doctor's classification should line up to a man and fight both amendments to the bitter end, and thus prevent our becoming the victims of those who according to her classification, are headed in the other direction, while the Anti-Saloon League and the State Democratic Committee are at the throttle.

Suffrage not an issue? I don't blame them. I, too, would be ashamed to admit

it!

W. E. GLOVER.

Dr. Shaw's Candid Views.

(The Crisis, November, 1917)—"A Symposium."

"Responding to your request for a brief message with regard to the colored American and suffrage, I wish to repeat a statement which I have made so many times that I believe the whole world is familiar with it, and that is, that I hope the time will come when there will be no such thing as a colored-American any more than a German-American or any other kind of American except a plain American citizen. What I say in regard to the vote of the American I should say in regard to the vote of any citizen who is an American—that I trust we are approaching the time when every loyal, law-abiding citizen of the country shall have an equal right with every other law-abiding citizen of the United States to express, through the ballot box, the will of the citizen, regardless of sex or color, in connection with those problems of the government which affect the lives of American citizens.

"I have never been able, and doubtless never shall be able, to understand why one citizen who contributes to the support of the government, and who is submissive to its authority, should have any more right than any other citizen, under like conditions, to free access to the ballot box.

"I believe in democracy, and there is no such thing as democracy under conditions which deny to any citizen who obeys the law and contributes to the support of the government the right to a voice in making the law."—Anna Howard Shaw, Honorary President National American Woman Suffrage Association; Chairman Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense."

N. Y. C. CALL

OCTOBER 20, 1918

THE DILEMMA OF THE SOUTHERN SUFFRAGISTS.

Most uncomfortable is the position in which the Southern suffragists are being placed because of the suffrage stand taken by Southern senators. These democratic statesmen announce quite frankly and unashamedly that they would be willing to support the suffrage amendment if it were made to exclude Negro, or, as they with true Southern elegance put it, "nigger," women from the franchise. Thus do these Southern supporters of the party of democracy at last reveal with open offensiveness what some of us have long known, namely, the sex prejudice behind which they hid as long as they could was merely a cover for their violent race prejudice which, under the peculiar social and economic conditions of the South, is the form there taken by class prejudice.

dice.

Cavemen as the Southern gentlemen mentally and temperamentally are, they would, for political reasons, have yielded to the general demand for woman suffrage, did it affect only "their" women, the women of their class race. But, involving the Negro women, as does, the suffrage question becomes an economic question for them, threatening the economic supremacy; that is, white or capitalist supremacy, by giving new power to the Negro, or labor. The Southern capitalist has always understood that he can keep himself on top only by keeping the Negro, who constitutes Southern labor, under, and well under.

Undoubtedly, the Southern white woman understands this also, and her every instinct bids her stand with her man and safeguard herself economically against the Negro. But she has been uniting with the women of the other sections of the country in demanding woman suffrage in the name of democracy. How can she, therefore, admit that she would be more satisfied with a democracy that continued to disfranchise Negro females as well as Negro males?

Verily, this is a fearful dilemma for the Southern suffragist, one horn seeming as uncomfortable, to put it mildly, as the other. Will she outwardly yield to the call of democracy, only later on to join her man in ruthlessly and craftily keeping from a dangerous class and race the fruits of victory? This is not a pleasant picture, we admit, and we can only hope that the Southern white woman may prove the great historic exception to the dominant law of economic determinism.

A. C. B.

TEXAS CONGRESSMEN AND SUFFRAGE.

AUSTIN TEXAS AMERICAN

JANUARY 14, 1918

Twelve Texas congressmen voted against the federal amendment for suffrage. Those who voted for the amendment were: Blanton, Gregg, Connolly, Garrett, Jones and Summers. Those who voted against the amendment were within their legal rights, and as such voted according to the dictates of their consciences.

The latter are simply behind the times, and are failing to keep up with the sentiment of the state. Perhaps they have been away from Texas for the period of the war and have not realized the work the women of Texas are doing to bring the war to a successful conclusion. A close reading of the editorials of every large paper in Texas finds an overwhelming sentiment in favor of suffrage for women. While newspapers are not sole guarantees in every case for the correctness of a position on political matters, yet they, in large measure, reflect the sentiment of the cities in which they are situated. Newspapers do more than reflect the prejudices of individuals.

Through investigation and study editors are able to "feel" the undercurrent of opinion among their readers. Because of this fact, then, the editors of the larger Texas newspapers have come out strongly for the suffrage amendment and are lending their energies to the final passage of the bill when it comes up in the senate.

The twelve congressmen have one ground, however, on which to stand. That ground is the fact that a large number of negro women will be given the vote in Texas. Suffragists claim there are twice as many white women in Texas as there are negro women and children combined, so why fear them? The crux of the situation goes back to the necessity for educational development. If the negro women are to be given the right to vote, and the signs show that eventually they will vote, the duty rests upon the state to allow for educational advantages in a larger measure than negro women now have.

This does not circumvent the evident circumstance that thousands of brainy Texas white women cannot vote and thousands of ignorant negro men can vote.

MARCH 22, 1918

The Whippersnappers.

The whippersnapper press of Alabama has been leaping at the throat of The News ever since the recent assembly of earnest-minded Democrats at Montgomery decided upon a State-wide, representative Democratic convention at the Capital on April 4. Precisely why the two leading newspapers of the State, The Birmingham News and The Montgomery Advertiser, should be set upon by these harpies and damned persistently for their efforts to protect the backbone of the Party from the vicious attempts to destroy it as a force in American life, is beyond comprehension of this paper. It is utterly unlike any gesture ever made before by the Southern press. It is Federalism pure and simple. It breaks away from the safe and sane first principles that prevented the enactment of the iniquitous Force Bill that would have destroyed the Party machinery that saved the South from return to the dark days of the Reconstruction.

While the State is shot through with clamant and boisterous preachers against the sacredness of State rights, an opinion by a neighboring State contemporary of the coming convention of true-blue Democrats may be interesting to the whippersnapper element among Alabama journalists. Here it is, from The Macon Daily Telegraph:

Alabama Democrats from every walk in life to the number of four hundred have issued calls to their fellow-Democrats to assemble in Montgomery on April 4 to take counsel together how to beat back the invasion of their political rights, and to devise means to defeat the two proposed Federal amendments, which they say in their call are "subversive of the rights of the State, contrary to the teachings of the founders of the Federal Constitution, distinctly antipodal to the fundamentals ingrained in the Democratic Party by its older statesmen, and now forced upon the State without justification or excuse, and that, too, in a time of national peril and confusion."

These men who have called this mass meeting are opposed to the radical proposals to change our system of government, and they propose to protest against this movement to establish a democracy like that Bolshevism which has un-

done Russia and given her over to Germany. So the Baal worshipers of a loose, unbridled democracy will meet resistance. The "Old Guard" is gathering to save the real democracy—that kind our fathers established before the Bryans and the Catts and the Shaws were born.

These 400 hope to check the spread of the Bolshevik spirit in the South. They will find a backing in the Eastern States. There is a revival of the principle of State rights in the East.

The call of the mass meeting insists that the people should be heard on this important matter, but the policy of the promoters is to submit the questions to the Legislatures only. This recalls the inconsistency of these radical supporters of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. Mrs. Chapman Catt in her letter to "The Crisis," the negro DuBois's paper, has much to say about "democracy," yet she violently opposes that her pet measure be submitted to the votes of the people. At the same time all of them prate about "democracy," and the people voting, even to the negro women. But when it comes to practice they demand Federal action, eliminating the people. Certainly the people should be heard when the very form and substance of their government is so changed.

So this mass meeting in Alabama proposes a referendum to the people. Democracy still lives in Alabama. They will oppose interference by the Administration into their domestic affairs, but on war questions will give it their warm and cordial support.

Hurrah for Alabama!

MR. POWELL ON THE ANTHONY AMENDMENT.

Greenville, Ala., July 7, 1918.

Editor The Advertiser:

The argument has been repeatedly made by some opposing the National prohibition amendment that if the woman suffrage amendment should be adopted, negro women will be allowed to vote and white supremacy in the black counties endangered. While the woman suffrage amendment has absolutely nothing to do with the prohibition amendment and the resolution calling for it has not even passed Congress, anti-amendists are using the above argument as a reason for defeating the prohibition amendment.

But even if the suffrage amendment should be authorized by Congress and ratified by the Legislatures of thirty-six States, this would not mean that negro women would be given the indiscriminate right to vote. On the contrary their qualifications as voters would be fixed by the laws of the different States and unless they possessed the prescribed qualifications they could not vote. As showing this I call attention to the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution relating to the negro's right to vote and also to the proposed suffrage amendment.

The fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States is as follows:

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

"Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The proposed woman's suffrage amendment to the Constitution is in the following language:

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State or account of sex.

"Section 2. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article."

It will be seen that the provisions of the

fifteenth amendment relating to negro suffrage are substantially the same as the provisions of the proposed amendment relating to woman suffrage.

15th Amendment.

The fifteenth amendment went into effect in 1870. It was supposed to confer on the negro the right to vote. But strictly speaking it did not. It only provided that the negro's right to vote should not be abridged because of his color or his having been a slave. This was expressly decided by Chief Justice White, of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of United States vs. Reese et al., 92 U. S. Reports 214. Construing the amendment he said: "The fifteenth amendment does not confer the right of suffrage upon any one." This decision is reaffirmed in the case of United States vs. Harris, 106 U. S. Rep. 637.

Acting on these decisions, the Southern States adopted constitutions and passed laws that did not discriminate against the negro and at the same time practically prevented the negro from voting. These constitutions and laws have stood the test in the Supreme Court of the United States, although in 1870 and for many years thereafter sectionalism was bitter and the Republican party was in power. This party attempted to pass laws that would insure the negro the right to vote but were never successful. Certainly if the Republicans when they were so bitter were unable to confer on the negro the power to vote, it cannot now be done, when the bitterness between North and South has died out.

Under the present constitution and law of the State of Alabama there are very few negro voters in the State. If women should be granted the right to vote in this State they would be compelled to comply with the requirements of our State Constitution and State laws. They would have to register and the negro women would have to pass the same test as to their right to vote as the negro man. This being true there would be no more danger to be feared from negro women voting than there is from negro men voting. They would both stand upon the same footing. Our Constitution has stood the test. No one need have any more fear of negro domination from negro women than they have fear of negro domination from negro men. Any well informed lawyer or judge who has given the question study will agree with me.

I am not writing this as an advocate of woman suffrage but for the sole purpose of refuting the argument of those opposing the National prohibition amendment by attempting to frighten the voters by raising the cry of negro domination.

Respectfully,

D. M. POWELL.

Greenville, Alabama.

GREENVILLE NEWS
JANUARY 20, 1918

WILL THEY VOTE?

"The negro has not yet enjoyed full suffrage rights in the Southern States. Restrictions, while really a matter of race prejudice, have been asked on other pretexts. Under the proposed Federal suffrage law negro women in the South could not be disfranchised as negro men have been," says the Philadelphia Telegraph.

The Telegraph does not indicate why negro women cannot be disfranchised as negro men have been. The assumption is that if the women of

the South get the vote, they will become members of the Democratic party and be bound by the results of the party primaries. If they should decline to affiliate with the party, and participate only in the general election, it is altogether probable that the negro women will exercise the suffrage.

The temper of The Telegraph is worth noting, as mirroring a growing public sentiment outside of the South. It points out that "State restrictions on the negro's citizenship privileges are a serious wrong and clearly a perversion of the intent to confer upon the black man the same rights enjoyed by the white man as a citizen. Congress has had it within its power to right this wrong, but Congress has never seen fit to take the step in that direction which the Constitution authorizes it to take. It will be conducive to the integrity of elections when national authority is exercised under the powers which this amendment will grant. The pretexts which have disfranchised so much of the negro vote in the South will not be permitted to go unnoticed in the case of the negro woman vote. There has long been needed a Federal supervision in the case of certain elections, and the proposed amendment will bring it."

A significant admission was made by Senator Vardaman the other day in a speech in the Senate congratulating Mississippi upon the passage of the Federal prohibition amendment. He said very frankly that the time is coming when the "Grandfather clause," the Mississippi device to disfranchise the negro, will be ineffective and that he did not know how the problem of the black vote will then be solved. Nobody has exceeded the Mississippi Senator in antagonism to investing the negro with political rights.

Much is being said in the North these days about reducing the representation of the South in Congress. He who runs may read that the South's domination of the Federal Government has caused and is causing much adverse feeling in other sections of the Union. There it is being pointed out that the South's power can be lessened by insisting that representation shall be based upon the voting population, instead of both the voting and non-voting population as at present. The South's insistence upon national prohibition by Federal amendment has provoked much of this criticism. It is idle to pooh-pooh these strictures, for they are increasing in volume and number. Amendment of the Constitution is an instrument that can be used by one section as well as another. There are indications that the Republican party will be returned to power in 1920 and, if that be the case, the South will have to look out. Sectionalism is not dead in the country. The remainder of the republic may yet force the South to permit the negro to vote. The Federal Constitution contains mandates that have been ignored, but they exist none the less and can be invoked.

**NEGRO CITIZENS
SCORE TACTICS**

OF DEMOCRATS

OMAHA, NEB. FREE
NOVEMBER 3, 1918

**Colored Republican Voters
Denounce Arthur Mullen
and Call on Friends to
Vote Straight Ticket.**

Prominent negro citizens last night publicly urged and recommended all negro voters of Douglas county to vote the straight republican ticket next Tuesday.

They offered their reasons at a joint meeting of the Douglas County Colored Republican league, the Greater Omaha Colored Republican league and the New Comers' Welfare Colored Republican club. The meeting was the most representative gathering of negroes held here in many months.

Read Mullen's Record.

M. F. Singleton, Sergeant Bailey, G. W. Obee, Fred Williams, Amos P. Scruggs, Dr. J. R. Lemma and other prominent members of the race spoke in behalf of the entire republican ticket.

Mr. Singleton and Dr. Lemma, among their reasons why the negroes of this country should stand by the republican party, read the recent record of Arthur Mullen, democratic national committeeman for Nebraska and recognized as one of the chief spokesmen of his party in this state.

"That pusillanimous biped, that inferior piece of mediocrity, Arthur Mullen, who dares to call himself a man," Dr. Lemma began. "He said that a mistake was made when they gave the black man the ballot and that another mistake would be made if the women were allowed to vote. It behooves the colored men to practice efficiency next Tuesday by voting for the entire republican ticket. The personnel of the republican ticket stands for efficiency."

Demos Will Crush Negro.

In his message to the colored men of this county Mr. Singleton said: "The colored men are going to vote the republican ticket straight. I believe that justice to the colored people will come through the republican party and that is where I pin my faith, and it is where I know you will pin your faith. I want you to deny what Arthur Mullen said, by going to the polls on next Tuesday and voting for the greatest party that ever has been organized."

"The democratic party has been honest enough to tell me that it does not want me," said Fred Williams, the blind negro orator. "All that I am today as a race man has been given to me by the republican party. The democratic party will crush you more in the future than it has in the past. I interviewed Arthur Mullen regarding his quoted remarks about the negro vote and he didn't dare deny it."

Politics Women in WOMEN WILL DECIDE CONTROL OF CONGRESS

**New Voters Can Swing the Result in Any of the Four
Special Elections to Be Held in This City
To-morrow—Outlook Favors Democrats.**

MARCH 4, 1918

By EDWARD STAATS LUTHER.

PARTY control of the House of Representatives will be decided right here in greater New York to-morrow at the four special Congress district elections at the new woman voters will do the deciding, too.

With the present House standing 210 Democrats, 208 Republicans, eight members of various other classifications and nine vacancies, it will be seen almost anything in the nature of an upset here would give the Republicans control of things in the lower branch at Washington, with full power to oust Speaker Champ Clark if the opposition should see fit. It would require an upset to do this, however, as the outlook is for the election of four Democrats, although in two of the districts the Republicans have excellent fighting chances.

The special elections will take place to-morrow in the Seventh and Eighth districts, which are in Brooklyn; in the Twenty-first district, which is in Manhattan, and in the Twenty-second district, which is largely in the Bronx, but which includes a section of East Harlem and another small slice of Manhattan in the vicinity of the Polo Grounds. It is in the Seventh and Twenty-first districts that the Republicans have their chance, although it is not good betting to back the G. O. P. in either contest. Probably the most interesting struggle is in the Twenty-first, where, through the 1917 apportionment by the Legislature, the party voting strength is almost evenly divided between the Republicans and the Democrats. This, however, is purely on the basis of suffrage for men, as no one on the face of the earth knows if the 10,632 new woman voters are going to divide on party lines in the same ratio as the men.

This is, figuratively, the old Murray Hulbert district, although the lines have been changed since the election of Mr. Hulbert in 1916 and, in a Presidential year, such as the last, it is more than likely the Republicans would win. They have been pushing their advantage during the last two weeks, especially through the presence of Miss Jeanette Rankin of Montana, the only woman ever elected to Congress. Miss Rankin has been speaking for John A. Bolles, the Republican nominee in the Twenty-first, just as she has been speaking for her party candidates in the other three districts.

Jerome F. Donovan is the Democratic nominee in the Twenty-first, with Joseph D. Cannon running on the Socialist ticket and Mrs. Mamie M. Colvin in the field as the nominee of the Prohibitionists. This is the only district in which the water wagonites have a candidate.

REPUBLICAN chances in the Twenty-first district were a good deal better two weeks ago than they are to-day.

The G. O. P. got a black eye the night Mr. Bolles was nominated by the Republicans, after a hard turn-down for the Rev. Reverdy C. Ramson, the negro clergyman who aspired to become the party candidate.

Right away the supporters of the Rev. Ramson went out and held a meeting of the United Civic League, a negro organization, which put him in the running independently. Then came the proceedings of the organization Republicans by which the Ramson independent nominating petition was thrown off the ballot on the ground many signatures were illegal. In spite of this, however, the Ramson contingent is going right ahead with instructions to its voters to write the name of their candidate on the ballots.

As the district has the largest negro population of any Congress district outside of the Solid South, and as these negroes normally vote the Republican

he could under adverse circumstances Mr. Furlong has been basing his campaign largely on the former opposition of Senator Griffin to woman suffrage, although the Democratic candidate has been for suffrage since it was carried in this State last November.

The total registration in this district is 33,558, of which 5,677 of the eligible voters are women.

WHILE the Republicans are hopeful of carrying the Seventh Congress district in Brooklyn, the outlook is none too bright.

This district, as reapportioned, has a normal Democratic plurality of about 900 votes, based, of course, on the votes of the men only. There are 36,894 voters registered in the district, and of this number 7,744 are women. Therefore the result depends entirely on the way the women divide among the parties.

The vacancy in the Seventh was caused by the resignation of John J. Fitzgerald, long a leading figure at Washington, to resume the practice of law. The Democrats have John J. Delaney as their candidate, while the Republicans are running John S. Gurnor. Alexander Fraser is the Socialist nominee, and he has been making a strenuous fight along pacifist lines.

It looks like a walk-over for the Democrats in the Eighth district, although here, too, the women could cause an upset. The vacancy in the Eighth district was created by the resignation of Daniel J. Griffin to become Sheriff of Kings County, and the Democrats have named William E. Clary to succeed him. The Republicans named Wilmot L. Morehouse and the Socialist candidate is Harry W. Laidler.

The total registration in the Eighth district is 45,221, of which 11,152 of the eligibles are women.

ALTOGETHER there are 35,205 woman voters registered in the four Congress districts, out of a total registration of 172,071.

Official figures at the Board of Elections show that of the 37,623 names entered on the registry lists on February 22 and 23, the two days of special registration, only 2,418 were of men. Of course all the men who registered last Fall have their names held over on the lists.

Men in the military service of the country, coming from the four districts in question, will be voted to-morrow if they are still in the camps, cantonments and stations on this side of the water.

The time for arrangements was too short for Secretary of State Francis M. Hugo to prepare to vote any of the men who have gone abroad. Secretary Hugo has arranged for voting at the armory at Fort Washington avenue and 168th street for men in service who may be in the city to-morrow, with another voting place in Brooklyn at the naval armory at the foot of Fifty-second street. The polls at these two places will be open from 6 A. M. until 5 P. M. the same as the regular polls at the 410 polling places in the district.

In addition to the two central military polling places for men under arms, voting will take place on board the Granite State, at the foot of West Ninety-seventh street, Manhattan; as well as at Pelham Bay, Fort Slocum, Fort Totten, Fort Hamilton and wherever other groups may be located.

John J. Curran of Secretary Hugo's

office, will handle the election among the men at Yaphank, while Deputy Secretary Charles W. Taft is at Spartanburg, also, to take the vote there.

Commanding officers of each unit will be in charge of the election among their men.

NATIONAL leaders of the two great parties have regarded the Congress elections here of sufficient importance to send their best speakers into New York.

In Miss Rankin of Montana, of course, the Republicans have been able to play a trump card as the only woman member of Congress is a Republican. During the closing days of the fights Miss Rankin spoke for each and every one of the Republican nominees, making a particular appeal to the woman voters to support Republican principles.

Having no woman Representative to send here the Democrats at Washington did the next best thing, and got Senator James Hamilton Lewis of Illinois, always a popular speaker with the women, to come on. Senator Lewis made several speeches, most of them in Brooklyn.

Arrangements have been made to have women watchers, as well as men, on duty at all of the 410 polling places to-morrow. Each party is entitled to two watchers at each voting place, and the Democrats have divided their lists between the men and the women.

GEORGE F. JOHNSON, the wealthy shoe manufacturer of Johnson City, Broome County, has dashed the hopes of many Democrats who would have liked to make him their party's candidate for Governor this Fall.

"I have read in different papers articles to the effect I might be available as a candidate for Governor," said Mr. Johnson in a statement which he has just issued. "I have said many times that I had no political ambition and would not accept public office and that I now repeat. I would not accept public office under any circumstances."

"Born and reared a worker, I have come through long years of experience to respect, honor and love the working people. I shall spend the remaining years of my life in their service and do everything I possibly can to advance their interests."

"I believe I can do most by working along broad and liberal lines through the industry with which I am at present connected. This is definite and final."

Boy, please page Senator Bernard Downing!

THIS week the Republican leaders at Albany will clear decks for action, in the hope of bringing the present session of the Legislature to a close on April 12.

Before the week is over it is expected the Senate leaders will go to the mat with the Emerson bill, introduced as the measure of the Committee on Taxation and Retrenchment, to prohibit the traffic in and the possession of hard liquors in this State on and after October 1 next.

This bill, through permitting all license holders after that date to sell wines and malt beverages, purposes to give the State a sensible substitute for prohibition during the period of the war and for six months thereafter, and it is through, at the same time sidetracking absolutely for the session the ratification

As a companion measure the Senate also is expected to pass the proposed amendment to the State constitution, providing for absolute prohibition after October 1, 1920. The last named measure, however, would have to be passed again by the next Legislature and ratified by the voters before it could become operative.

In spite of opposition in the Assembly the chances are the lower branch of the Legislature will support the Senate anti-liquor program.

NEGRO WOMEN

**WOULD BE GIVEN A VOTE BY NEW
NATIONAL DRY PARTY**

**Attack Made on the Red Cross For
Sending Tobacco to Our Soldiers**

Equal suffrage, nation-wide prohibition and radical legislation favoring farmers and laborers are the chief planks of the platform of the National party adopted in Chicago at a convention attended by about 200 delegates, 100 of whom are bolters from the Prohibition party.

The platform after several hours of debate on the negro-voting question and various points of the plans favoring laborers, was adopted by a unanimous vote and is the first definite expression of the new party.

In regard to suffrage, the right of men and women to vote on all questions and enforcement of the laws enfranchising negroes and others, regardless of color or race, is demanded.

The prohibition plank pledges the party to work for nation-wide prohibition and for immediate ratification of the constitutional amendment.

Extension of the Federal loan law is the most important legislation concerning farmers which is advocated.

Limitation of immigration, shortening of working hours, governmental insurance, more rigorous inspection of factories and working places, adequate enforcement of child labor laws are some of the things urged in the labor plank. It is also advocated that the Government forbid interstate shipments of articles made by children.

Much of the platform also is devoted to the question of international democracy. The platform declares that the party recognize that the Republic of the world is the goal for international political development, and urges abolition of secret diplomacy, freedom of the seas and abolition of prohibitive or discriminatory tariffs or taxes upon trade and commerce. Foreign investments must bear their own

risks, another plank demands.

The American Red Cross and National Administration were scored from the floor of the convention by Mrs. Frances Beauchamp, of Lexington, Ky., in an address which received applause.

Mrs. Beauchamp attacked the Red Cross for its policy of encouraging the sending of tobacco to soldiers and alleged that it is unwittingly the tool of the American Tobacco Company. She asked the convention to appeal to the Administration to prohibit this policy, which, she contended, is directly interfering with the efficiency of America's fighting men.

She said that under the present policy of the Red Cross persons are not allowed to contribute packages for transmission overseas unless the packages contain cigarettes or tobacco.

The platform, which probably will be adopted with but few changes, is the one tentatively adopted at the formation of the party last October and apparently meets the approval of the 100 prohibitionists who cast their lot with the new organization.

Equal suffrage, nation-wide prohibition, the initiative, referendum and recall, and public ownership of all public utilities are indorsed. Legislation that will better conditions of the children workers. In its international such laws as will protect women and laboring men is commended, especially plank, the platform stands against secret diplomacy and favors the "creation of an international tribunal so constructed as to represent the weak as well as the powerful nations for the settlement of disputes between nations."

WOMAN LEADS NEGRO VOTERS

Registers Forty Protested Before Election Board as Recent Arrivals in City

CHICAGO ILL JOURNAL
MARCH 23, 1918

Alleged attempts of the Thompson-Lundin organization to colonize negro voters in the Third ward were under fire before the election commission.

A hearing was granted Thomas Clancy measure up to essential qualifications. He filed affidavits

challenging the legality of 1,510 registrations added to the poll books March 12 by city hall henchmen.

The wholesale attempt at illegal voting is attributed to the desperate effort of the city hall to defeat Alderman U. S. Schwartz, who, through his activity on the council finance committee, forced a big cut in the "personal benefit" fund placed at the disposal of Corporation Counsel Samuel A. Ettelson.

Woman Leads Colonizers

In one precinct alone, it is charged, a negro woman appeared at a polling place at the head of a group of forty negroes and superintended the registration of them all. The negroes, according to witnesses, were evidently all new arrivals in the ward, many having just come from the south.

A protest parade against attempts of the city hall to dominate the ward will be held Saturday night, and will be followed by a mass meeting in behalf of the re-election of Alderman Schwartz at Warwick hall, Forty-seventh street and Forrestville avenue.

The speakers will include Miss Amelia Sears, Lessing Rosenthal, William L. O'Connell, William H. Sexton and Jacob Lindheimer.

Calls Socialists Seditious

A pamphlet entitled "The Twenty-seventh Ward Patriot," attacking the socialists as notoriously disloyal and urging the re-election of Alderman Oliver L. Watson, has been issued in the hot Twenty-seventh ward campaign.

Maurice F. Kavanagh, democratic nominee in the Eighteenth ward, is pledging his help toward fair treatment of the union employees of the city.

He charges the city hall with overloading the polls at election times with political henchmen and so exhausting city funds in this manner that union workers are laid off even though necessary city work is slowed up as a result.

COLORED WOMEN VOTERS ORGANIZE

THEY FAVOR DEMOCRATIC PARTY BUT DEMAND COMPETENT MEN FOR PUBLIC OFFICE.

The Fourth Assembly Branch of the Queens organization of colored women voters was held at 85 Smith street, Jamaica, last Wednesday evening, Anna Barnes presiding and Hannah Humans acting as secretary.

This organization has also established branches in Corona, Flushing and Richmond Hill. Its present mission is that of getting its political bearings.

While inclined to affiliate with the Democratic Party, and firmly resolved to uphold President Wilson's hands, especially while the country is facing a crisis, its members will eliminate partisanship where candidates for public office do not measure up to essential qualifications.

But this editor's advanced notions stop with his advocacy of the right of white women to the ballot. He proves himself the same old Bourbon as of yore in his endeavor to show how the white women may be allowed to vote and the Negroes still remain disfranchised. Listen to his shortsighted views of the situation:

The principles and doctrines of Democracy, from the days of Jefferson and Jackson down to those of the Party's present standard-bearer, President Wilson, were briefly outlined by Harry Sutphin, who was given an enthusiastic reception.

The next meeting of the organization will be held at 1024 Freedom avenue, Ozone Park, next Thursday evening.

"GRANDMOTHER CLAUSE."

An outspoken advocate of woman suffrage has finally come to light in Florida in the shape of the *Palm Beach Post*, which gently chides the Southern Senators for sidestepping the issue. The reasons alleged for their opposition this editor loftily disposes of as either "a cloak for conservatism" or "an evidence of perverted intelligence." He regards it as absurd to pretend that the situation will be "seriously complicated" by the inclusion of the Negro women as voters. He continues with the usual stress on Southern chivalry:

The objection that the new privilege begged for will enable the Negro woman to vote is the flimsiest of excuses. Conservatism, pure and simple, influences the Southern Senator who turns a deaf ear to the pleadings of the sex whose companionship has earned him his racial distinction for chivalry. If ever women was entitled to a vote, and it must be confessed that there are a good many arguments in her favor that can only be answered by a resort to the senatorial conservatism above mentioned; if ever it was proper and expedient to give her the vote as a reward for the sacrifices she is making on the top of the one great maternal sacrifice that only she can make, it is while we are in the grip of this war. Man's sense of justice compels this admission, however strongly his reason and experience pull in the opposite direction.

But this editor's advanced notions stop with his advocacy of the right of white women to the ballot. He proves himself the same old Bourbon as of yore in his endeavor to show how the white women may be allowed to vote and the Negroes still remain disfranchised. Listen to his shortsighted views of the situation:

uation:

The allegation that the returned Negro soldier will insist on exercising the rights secured to him by a certain amendment to the Constitution admits of some argument. There will not be a strikingly large number of these men even at the end of the war, and a considerable proportion of them will represent men who have been employed as stevedores and common laborers, normal occupations to the Negro that are not likely to fill his mind with aspirations for political liberty to be realized as soon as he once more sets foot upon United States soil. Moreover, all the old methods of discounting the Negro vote will still remain in full force and will doubtless be still exercised in the South. There remain, too, always such devices as the Grandfather Clause, which can, if necessary, be supplemented by a Grandmother Clause to meet the new situation.

These views are characteristic of the lack of vision found even in an editor broad enough to advocate the right of women, even if only white women, to the suffrage. He does not know that the "Grandfather clause" has been pronounced unconstitutional and that proper legal efforts would render it innocuous in every Southern State. He does not realize that the war is working changes among both races, not only among those who go abroad but those that remain at home.

Colored Women Discuss County Politics

The colored women of Houston are preparing to be active in politics and in order that they might know the duties in these affairs a meeting was held Friday afternoon at the Colored Carnegie library where such were discussed.

The principal speaker was W. H. Broyles, who explained the new law passed at the last session of the legislature and also the Terrell election law, which requires any parties which poll more than 100,000 votes to hold a primary. He explained that the parties can bar anyone from their membership they wish to and quoted R. E. Lewis of the democratic county executive committee, who said that colored women will not be allowed to vote at the primaries. The speaker said that if the committee agreed with the chairman there was no doubt but that the colored women would be barred.

He then told them of their rights in the republican precinct meetings, and it was evident from questions which were asked after the speech was completed that most of the women would decide to become republicans. These precinct meetings are held the same day as the democratic primaries, July 27.

After the speaking was concluded many questions were asked by the women present in order to get information. Some of them disapproved of the method used by

the republicans and the meeting was adjourned by Mrs. A. A. Dodson and 100 women.

SALVESTON TEXAS TRIBUNE
JULY 8, 1918
NEGRO WOMEN TO MEET.

They Will Later Go to Courthouse to Register.

Plans have been completed for a mass meeting of negro women, to be held tomorrow afternoon at 4 o'clock in the Reedy chapel, between Twentieth and Twenty-first streets on Broadway.

This meeting has been arranged to arouse the interest of the negro women in the registration. Prominent speakers, men and women of both races, will address the meeting, following which the women will go to the courthouse in a body to register.

The following committee of women from the Voters' league will conduct the meeting: Mrs. A. L. Pinkney, Ethel Sheinall and Mrs. Anna B. Bradley.

Attorney General Orders Negro Women Registered

DALLAS TEX JOURNAL
JULY 9, 1918

Special to The Evening Journal. Waxahachie, Texas, July 9.—Acting under a ruling from the Attorney General, County Tax Collector Jones today began registering negro women who applied for registration.

The Attorney General holds negro women are allowed to register under the new law, but participation in the Democratic primary will probably be determined by the Democratic Executive Committee. It is understood that some negro women asked the privilege of registering to take part in Republican precinct and county conventions and had no intention trying to vote in the Democratic primary.

Negro Women Barred In Registration

DALLAS TEX JOURNAL
JULY 8, 1918

Special to The Evening Journal. Waxahachie, Texas, July 8.—A new problem in the registration of women was presented at the Collector's office this morning when a party of eighteen negro women appeared and asked that privilege. The appearance of these women caused quite a stir about the courthouse for a time, but after a conference with other officials the Collector refused to permit them to register.

HARLEM WOMEN FORM NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE.

The Women's Non-Partisan Political League, Inc., has been formed to make the women voters of Harlem a factor in politics and to advance the interests of race. The present membership includes Mmes. Reverdy C. Ransom, C. W. McDougald, E. A. Johnson, Lelia Walters, Gertrude Curtis-McPherson, John W. Johnson, Montgomery Jones, Cecelia Cabaniss, Cecile Anderson, Sharperson Young, John Gallahorn, F. Grantland, F. Howard and Miss Fannie Mason.

On Saturday, March 23, the league will give a tea at 7 o'clock at the residence of Mrs. C. W. McDougald, 118 West One Hundred and Thirty-first street. An invitation has been extended to all women.

Politics Women in. YOUNG WHITE WOMEN'S POINT OF VIEW

In Georgia, at Valdosta, there is a thriving normal school, supported by the taxes of the people, and established for the particular purpose of training the daughters of white Southern aristocracy how to teach the younger white generation. This institution, known as the South Georgia State Normal College, has a student publication, called "The Pine Branch," issued monthly by the Writer's Club of said school. Of course, as you might expect colored people to do, they call it "The Writer's Club," even though it announces an editorial staff of six writers. The first page of this publication contains the picture of thirteen healthy and intelligent looking young women who "introduce" themselves as the staff of the periodical. Then follows the college wisdom. The editorial takes up a whole page and is on an ever interesting subject. We do not usually find college girls opposed to woman suffrage.

Read this editorial carefully—you who think the millennium will come after the war,—and see what the young white women think about it.

Read this article—you who think that Negro women are in mind when suffragists argue for women's enfranchisement—and see how the embryonic teachers of the South think. The editorial is a gem for its frankness, its self satisfied college-girl assurance.

They tell us that the "grandfather clause is too specific." Let us suggest a "grandmother clause."

The editorial is as follows:

Our New Negro Problem

At this time when the whole world is wrapped in war, and the air is filled with smoke and the sound of cannon, it seems that we ought not to have a vital internal problem. But we have all heard it said, "When it rains, it pours."

Now, in the age of confusion and destruction, caused by the greatest war that history has ever had any record of, we are brought face to face with a negro problem that is as grave, as broad, as far reaching, and as perplexing in its complicity as was the familiar negro problem of the sixties and seventies. As we all know, the dispute about slavery was the extra fuel that was heaped upon the coals of secession then ready to burst into flame; and that the final outcome was the terrible "War between the States," which was instrumental in hardening the heart and embittering the soul of the North against the South and the South against the North.

Immediately after the war the slaves were turned loose to take care of themselves. Not long after that they were made citizens and the third and last step gave them the right to vote. Thus they were on an equal political footing with their white masters. It is needless for me to try to describe the terror, the distress and corruption that marked the reconstruction period.

Is history going to repeat itself? Are we to suffer a civil war between black and white at the polls when this war is over? Let us hope not. But the recent action of the House of Representatives in passing the resolution submitting to the States the so called Woman's Suffrage Amendment, seems to have only the vote of the Senate and the action of a number of State legislatures between us and such conditions.

It is not in the soul of the black man to attain the cultural, intellectual, moral, and religious heights reached by his white brother. And so even though the negro had been in America nearly three hundred years, when they were freed, they were completely unprepared to shoulder the responsibility of their freedom. For some one has said, "Responsibility increases in direct proportion to the increase of liberties." They do not have the right kind of initiative to strike

So, to control the situation with women voting, it will take ahead in the right way. So it was a long, slow process that excluded the undesirable vote of the negro man.

We have an almost parallel situation; but in the time of our grand parents, woman suffrage was a thing so far distant that their solution of the negro problem may not prove to be a sufficient solution for ours. Now that we seem about to have woman suffrage, how are we to exclude the undesirable vote of the negro woman? Because of their utter shiftlessness some of the men were excluded from the polls on a purely educational ground; but would this do in the case of the woman? Scarcely; for she has in most cases superior mentality to the man; and then, too, a stringent educational test would exclude some of the more desirable votes of the white woman. The negro woman is more business like in every way than the man. She is also always on the alert to everything out of which she may gain. She is far more ambitious than the man by nature, and more apt to prove insistent in her affairs than is the man.

something much more carefully constructed than our present grandfather laws.

If we do not exclude the undesirable negro woman voter but allow all to have the suffrage, we might as well allow the men to vote too, because their influence will be felt in the way she casts her vote.

The "Grand-father Clause," is too specific, too definite to accomplish the desired purpose, and to do any good it would have to be taken very, very broadly.

What are we going to do about the negro woman if suffrage is extended to her by the same hand that extends it to the white woman? Are we going to eliminate the undesirable vote or are we going to allow our politics to become as corrupt as they became during the reconstruction period? This is a question far-reaching, of enough importance to command the attention of the public; and pressing enough to require immediate action.—The Pine Branch, issued by Students of the South Georgia State Normal College, Valdosta, Ga.

To discuss this "editorial" seriously, one feels a sense of deep regret that in a time like this when mothers are called upon to give up their sons to war—black sons as well as white sons—that there should be any who would dare agitate the denial to them of any just privilege, and especially is it to be regretted that young women should be so deadened to justice and right, and religion, and democracy, that they must use a whole page of what ought to be a wholesome magazine in trying to solve the question "How shall we exclude the vote of the Negro woman?"

They fear to use the test of education, notwithstanding their boast of superiority. But we will tell them one way to get rid of the Negro woman's vote—let the Negro woman continue to come North, to states in which she can vote. And let the Negro woman organize and say to the white women: "If we are not good enough to vote with you, we are not good enough to cook for you, or to wash for you;" and let them find jobs elsewhere, where the pay is better anyway. We fought in the Revolutionary War a hundred and forty years ago for the principle of "Taxation without representation is tyranny," and it does seem not only insolent and un-Christian, but little short of brutal, that in this late day, while Negro men are fighting for white men and white women, the whites should be scheming how to keep the Negroes out of their rights after the war is over. We sincerely trust that these Valdosta ladies do not represent the Christianity and patriotism, to say nothing of intelligence, of young white women of the South, generally.

NEWARK N J LEDGER

JULY 12, 1918

WOMEN IN POLITICS.

Of the 270 delegates and alternates to "unofficial" Republican convention at Saratoga on July 18, seventy-three are white women and four are colored women, and thus the world do move in a wondrous way. In New Jersey we have reached the stage where colored men are demanding representation on the legislative tickets in Republican primaries and the Essex County Committee has unofficially announced that one colored man will be supported by the organization in the primary election. But there is hope for the colored sister, too, in this state, as well as for the white sister. Militant suffragists are still at work in Washington, and if they have their way, New Jersey, in spite of itself, must permit the fair sex to exercise the full right of franchise, including the right to run as delegates to "unofficial" conventions, should either of the parties adopt such an expedient for candidate picking and

platform building.

WILMINGTON TEXAS NEWS

JULY 9, 1918

NEGRO WOMEN TO REGISTER IN BODY TODAY AT COURTHOUSE.

A meeting which was called by the Negro Women Voters' League will be held this afternoon at 4 o'clock at the Reedy Chapel, on Broadway between Twenty-first and Twenty-second streets, for the purpose of arousing interest in registration among negro women. Mrs. Anna B. Bradley will make the principal talk, and other speakers will be called from the floor for impromptu talks.

After the speeches the women will go to the courthouse, where they will register and obtain their voting certificates. Mrs. L. A. Pinkney, who is a member of the committee in charge of this afternoon's meeting, said last night that she expected more than one hundred women to register as a result of the rally. The work of arousing interest in registration will continue through Friday, she said.